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ARTICLE I.

MEMOIR OF LUTHER RICE.

Memoir of Luther Rice, one of the first American Missionaries to the East. By J. B. TAYLOR. Second edition. Baltimore. Armstrong & Berry. 1841.

THE subject of this memoir was a great and good man, notwithstanding the blemishes and imperfections easily discernible in him, which more or less cleave to our fallen race. Five years have nearly elapsed since the tidings of his unexpected death were spread through the country, and caused every where a deep sensation. By common consent, some memorial was expected of one who had filled so large a place in the public eye, and been so fully identified with important enterprises for the advancement of Messiah's kingdom. After no inconsiderable delay in securing a biographer, and a still longer delay requisite for collecting the materials from a very wide dispersion, the author early in the last year committed his volume to the press, of which a second and somewhat improved edition* has just appeared. So far as we have learned,

* It is not creditable to the American press, that in a second edition of a copy-right volume as expensively printed as this, so many vexatious typographical blunders should occur. Such as presidential committee,

it gives general satisfaction to the friends of the deceased, and to the public. For many and important reasons, we could have desired (and we are sure the estimable compiler of this memoir will heartily join with us), that the duty of preparing such a volume had fallen to one, who, like the excellent Knowles, had enjoyed ampler opportunities of intimate personal inspection through all that period of highest interest, when the connections of Mr. Rice were the most close, responsible and embarrassing, with the great movements of religious benevolence which have so strikingly marked our history for the last quarter of a century. But he who had performed an inestimable service in spreading before many thousands in America and Europe the life of Mrs. Judson, was not suffered, by reason of death, to perform the same office for her early associate, Rice. They have all gone to bow together in the immediate presence of that Saviour on high,—whom we were permitted to see them unite in worshipping and serving in this vale of tears. Never shall we forget those scenes of surpassing interest, in which each of these distinguished servants of the Redeemer bore so conspicuous and united a part, in the winter of 1822–3. Mrs. Judson had returned to her native land, to regain, if possible, some degree of healthful vigor, but evidently more panting for the increase of missionary feeling, and the personal consecration to this service of those qualified to labor in it, than for health, or even life. Mr. Rice was seen welcoming her, with all the sacred fraternal affection, which their early connection in India had kindled, and Mr. Knowles, then wielding a wide and salutary influence, by the light he shed from the columns of the Columbian Star, was imbibing from them both the principles of that enlarged and heavenly benevolence, which was their ruling passion, and which he was henceforth enabled to advocate so successfully. It is certain,

for prudential, several times. Capt. Simons for Capt. Simms, attended for tended, *post* for port, *world* for word, *or* for our (in the transcript from the inscription on the tablet of marble over the grave of Rice), condemned for commended, &c. We have also noticed a few errors of another kind. On page 259, Mr. Malcom is enumerated among those who have been furnished to the denomination by the Columbian College. He was never connected with it. On page 245, Mr. Rice is represented as *first* suggesting the idea of a mission among the heathen to his fellow-students at Andover. It should read at Williams College.

that Mr. Knowles was then looked to, by Mrs. Judson, especially, as an early candidate for missionary toils and honors; and his practical skill as a printer, as well as his facility in the acquisition of languages, encouraged her to hope for pre-eminent success in his consecration to that service. But God seeth not as man seeth. Mrs. Judson regained her health, and returned to Burmah, in time to be the ministering angel of mercy to her husband through his unparalleled sufferings in imprisonment; and when that dark cloud had passed, her own noble spirit passed away also, and Knowles occupied just the position in this country which enabled him with most effect to send forth her thrilling memoir, which Rice engaged in circulating by thousands, thus awakening throughout this and other lands a spirit for missions, which shall never sleep till the world is evangelized. All of them have heard the welcome voice from on high, "Come up hither;" and O it is transporting to think, that they are, with some of the heathen, for whom, in different spheres, but with equal love, they labored, even now before the throne of God and the Lamb mingling their voices in the sweet sounds of Alleluia, Salvation for ever and ever.

Mr. Taylor, in this volume, has performed an acceptable service to the public, by presenting, in a simple and generally well-arranged manner, the incidents of the life and labors of Mr. Rice. The remarks which he has interspersed, without being profound or original, are natural, and breathe a benevolent and pious spirit, adapted to conciliate the favor of his readers. He seems to have understood and felt that he might easily have made loftier pretensions, without increasing the utility of his labors; and he generously, perhaps wisely, preferred the sacrifice of his own reputation in authorship, to the general good which would have been endangered by a different aim. Nothing more effectually diminishes the benefit of biographies, than the miserable ambition of authorship, and the overloading of incidents with sage moralizings or petty conceits.

In our office of Christian reviewers, we notice this volume, both for the sake of those who have perused it and those who have not and may not. We fear no imputation of unduly magnifying the comparative rank and influence of such a man as Luther Rice. God raised him up at an

important period, and for a most important purpose. The benevolent designs of that infinite Father, whose care for our churches has been in so many ways manifested, are now very clearly discernible. He fitted the instruments for the work they were to accomplish, and in ways unforeseen and wonderful, has brought glory to his name, and rich blessings upon our wide-spread communities, while they have been led to reflect his light upon the regions of darkness.

Less than thirty years since, the American churches, our own among the number, were slumbering in guilty apathy over the wants and woes of pagan nations. The poor Indians of our forests, receding and rapidly waning before the march of civilization, had elicited but a fitful and unproductive sympathy, and those separated from us by intervening oceans, seem to have been thought of only when a gainful commerce led forth the adventurer to seek their subserviency to his pecuniary emolument. The stillness of moral death brooded over the spiritual interests of six hundred millions of idolaters; while our young and favored country, starting into the list of nations with a giant's vigor, sufficiently vain of the rank she had already attained, was still more boastful of her future magnitude, but alas, felt not and apparently cared not for the spiritual destitution of our race. In the mean time, the example of that noble trio, from our father-land, CAREY, MARSHMAN, and WARD, by their efforts, sacrifices and successes, in behalf of the poor Hindoos and other degraded races of hither and farther India, was beginning to awaken emulation, and impel to active enterprises for blessing the souls of men. The destruction by fire of the very extensive printing establishment of the mission at Serampore, called forth an isolated spark from the benevolence of a few of our churches, and showed how possible it was by repeated appeals, to kindle this benevolence to a glowing ardor. At just this auspicious moment, six young men in a theological seminary, who had been nourishing a pent up flame of holy zeal for missions, till it could be repressed no longer, spread their desires and their determined purpose before their fathers in the Christian ministry, and after some delay, they obtained the hesitating consent, with the somewhat distrustful encouragement of friends, in going far hence to the Gentiles, to publish the unsearchable riches of Christ.

They sail by different ships, and soon land together at Calcutta. They are all members and representatives of one denomination of Christians in America, while a larger denomination, and the one with which the pioneers of English missions above-named were identified, had no part in this precious adventure of Christian charity. But He who has all hearts in his hand, who is wonderful in counsel and excellent in working, determines just at this juncture to interpose in behalf of a cause which was manifestly his own.

All these missionaries left America fully identified with the Pædobaptists. But in their careful examination of God's word, for the purpose of preparing themselves to meet the different views and practice of Christ's ordinances by the venerable missionaries in India, light broke in upon the minds of a portion of them. They can find no warrant in Scripture for baptizing any but believers, or for calling sprinkling baptism. In a word, they find themselves unbaptized. How often has such a result been witnessed in candid, ingenuous minds, faithfully studying the blessed and infallible guide-book, which Heaven has put into our hands! After due deliberation, they resolve, whatever it may cost them, to obey the command as illustrated by the example of their Lord, and be buried with him in baptism. In taking this step, they conferred not with flesh and blood, and they needed to be strong in the faith, to go forward in such circumstances unwavering. But they had been trained, disciplined and furnished by all their past experience, to exercise just the independent, decided and conscientious part which they here evinced.

One of these men was Luther Rice; and there are reasons, intrinsic and relative, why we should here review his early course and eliminate those elements of character, which made him what he was, from his personal and religious history. He was born of reputable parents, in the middle rank of society, in the little town of Northboro', Worcester county, Mass., in March, 1783. The strong intellect and indomitable spirit of the father, who had been a soldier of the Revolution, were inherited by Luther, tempered and improved by the amiable excellences of his mother. By her care and painstaking diligence, together with the endeavors of a pious aunt, he was early made familiar with the holy Scriptures, and

throughout his juvenile years, religious instruction was communicated with happy effect. No permanent religious influence appears to have been received by him, however, till he had reached his eighteenth year. A full conviction of guilt and condemnation before God, was then fastened on his mind, awaking the most alarming apprehensions, and leading him to cry earnestly for mercy. Notwithstanding the perplexities into which he was led by the vague and erroneous instructions of his professed spiritual guide, his sense of the transcendent excellence of the law of God, and the desperate wickedness of his own heart, became more deep and habitual, producing unutterable anguish and overpowering awe. His own recollection of these exercises, is thus given:

"When I became convinced that I had not experienced a change of heart, convinced too, that such a change was essential to happiness,—but perceived at the same time, that mine was in reality the *carnal mind* which is *enmity with God*; feeling also that it must depend absolutely upon the will of God, whether my heart should ever be changed or not; and that no affection, exercise or effort could possibly proceed from such a heart that should be any other than morally wrong, and justly offensive in the sight of the Lord,—and saw too, clearly, that *I ought to love God*, and possess absolute submission to his holy will; I was reduced unavoidably to keen anguish and very great distress; indeed, it sometimes swelled to a dreadful agony, and was well nigh overwhelming.

"I was mostly by myself, and day after day, for weeks and months, spent much of my time in literally *weeping and wailing*. Then it was, that it did seem to me truly astonishing, that unconverted sinners were not all of them in deep and constant anxiety. Then it was, that I was astonished that Christians who had been delivered from the fearful condition I saw myself to be in,—if indeed there were any such,—were not filled with exceeding joy. Then, too, it was that it did seem to me, I could make the most hard-hearted sinner to tremble, by a representation of the dreadfulness of the wrath of God, such an overwhelming sense of it often pressed terribly upon me. And then, too, it did also seem to me, that if I ever should find mercy and deliverance from the *wrath to come*, I would endeavor to rescue others from the same most wretched condition. Although these things have somewhat faded from my mind, as to the intenseness of their impressions, I may truly say, that *my soul hath them still in remembrance*.

"I had been in the habit, being mostly by myself, of spending much of my time, as before stated, literally in *weeping and wailing*. The distress in my soul was so deep, constant and severe, that it impaired my health. My friends thought that my ill health affected my mind; but it was directly the reverse, my distress of mind injured my health. I rested not by night nor by day. I was in the habit of waking in the night in extreme agony of feeling. It was true of me, at that period, with a little addition, as expressed in Young's Night Thoughts:

'From short as usual and disturbed repose,
I wake; but wake to wo.'

"Connected with the period of my deep anxiety and distress, previously to the receiving of comfort and hope, there were two occurrences of so distinct, peculiar and marked a character, as to be proper here to be particularly noticed. On one occasion, I had been reading 'Stoddard's Safety of appearing in the righteousness of Christ.' It was a description of the vile, polluted, guilty condition of a sinner, connected with the fact, that for such, the Saviour shed his precious blood. For a moment, a flood of light burst upon my astonished soul. It was entirely clear and evident, that I, my very self, *personally*, was that odious, guilty, justly-condemned criminal described; and that for me, in very deed, the infinitely glorious and infinitely lovely Son of God actually suffered and died. O, my feelings were indescribable; my self-loathing, my love of Jesus, were alike inexpressible. Tears flowed freely. It was truly something like *joy unspeakable, and full of glory*. And I felt as if I should have nothing more to do on earth, but to rejoice, adore and praise God and the Redeemer. But in a few minutes all was past, and I was in the same guilt, condemnation and wretchedness, as before; and so remained, I am not now able to recollect for how long a period afterwards.

"On another occasion, I had been praying to God to show me *the worst of my case*. Rising from my knees, and lying down upon my bed for sleep, it seemed for the moment as if I was actually descending into hell; my horror and agony, it is not possible for language to express. It was but for a moment, nor could I have sustained it longer. Never since have I dared to pray that God would show me the worst of my case, or that he would show any sinner the worst of his case. I am sure no one could sustain it a moment. Never before nor since, have I felt as at that moment, and for pretty much all the day; and I hope, I shall never feel it again. The dreadfulness of the impression was such, as produced a noticeable effect in my appearance during the next day. I was awfully afraid I should lose my reason. A case, too, of a deranged man, that I had heard of, I thought I could pretty distinctly understand. He said *he had felt the wrath of God upon his little finger!* Such was the dreadfulness of the wrath of God, that but the touch of it upon that little extremity of his person, had, as it were, blasted his whole being in utter ruin. Such was the import of his representation. Such was the idea, I could then distinctly, awfully apprehend. There was an awfulness of horror in it, which cannot possibly be described. But in a few days it was gone, except as a matter of recollection. But I did think, if ever I should indeed find deliverance and comfort, *I would warn the wicked of their danger*; and I did feel as if I could verily make the most hard-hearted sinner tremble. I did think I would live differently from any other I have ever known, and better. But alas! alas!

"At length, the period of deliverance drew nigh. One morning the thought came into my mind, agreeably to what the good ministers of a century back were wont occasionally to propose, as a discriminating method of testing the condition of persons,—whether I would be willing to put a blank sheet of paper with my name at the foot of it, into the hand of God, for him to fill up my destiny as might seem good in his sight. I felt that I ought to be perfectly willing to do this, but was not; and as the idea, which was unpleasant to me, was departing, I considered distinctly, that I was like the foolish bird, which is said to

hide its head from the sight of danger, and remain all exposed to it. In the evening of the same day, a little after sunset, the same thought returned. I felt that I should be willing thus to put a blank into the hand of God, to be by him filled as he might please. Nay, being weary of the quarrel with God, so to speak, in which I had been so long involved, I felt as if I could wish it were literally a fact that I could so dispose of myself and of the case. It farther occurred to me, whether I would not be willing for God thus to write out my destiny and retain it with himself, letting me know it only so fast as it should come to pass; to which my mind and feelings readily assented; and a moment's reflection presented it to my view, as the obvious reality of the case; I was absolutely at the disposal of God; and should know the details of my destiny just as the same should be developed. And I then found in this disposition of absolute, unreserved submission to the will of God, a sweet and blessed tranquillity.

"From that moment, I seemed to be on the Lord's side,—was no longer at variance and in quarrel with my Maker; and from that day to this I have entertained a hope, that through the abundant mercy of the Lord, and the rich grace of the precious Redeemer, and the power of the Holy Ghost, on the ground of the great atonement, I have become reconciled to God. And I may say, too, to a very happy extent, this hope has remained invariable and unshaken. My feelings often vary, and vary much; but not my hope. And it must be quite obvious, that while pleased with the will of God, one must be happy.

"After finding myself thus happy in the Lord, I began to reflect in a day or two, whether touching this reconciliation with God, there was any thing of Christ in it or not. It then opened very clearly and sweetly to my view, that all this blessed effect and experience arose distinctly out of the efficacy of the atonement made by Christ. That I was wholly indebted to him for it all, and indeed the whole of that luminous system of divinity drawn out in the Westminster Catechism, opened on my view, with light, and beauty, and power. This I had been taught to repeat, when a child. I then felt and still feel glad that I had been so taught.

"The books that I read during the period of my distress, which was a year and a half, or more, were such as the Works of John Newton, Alleine's Alarm, Baxter's Call, Baxter's Saint's Rest, Stoddard's Safety of appearing in the Righteousness of Christ, Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul, President Davies' Sermons, and so on; and I still think these excellent and very valuable works. Indeed, I cannot but esteem it a signal favor in Divine Providence, that in the absence of other much needed helps, such truly good books fell into my hands. I read them with very serious attention; for I felt that eternity was awfully at stake. I read the Bible too, of course, with much anxiety, from which and from such books as those just mentioned, and the Catechism, the incipient outline of my religious sentiments was formed; my exercises of experience modified and characterized; and my hope developed, shaped and established. *Glory to God!"*

He united with the Congregational church in his native town, in March, 1802, a short time before he entered his twentieth year. The state of vital religion in that church

was then painfully low ; nor were his religious privileges at home such as he could desire. Though his parents were both members of the church, the family altar had long been unknown. His zeal for the Lord prompted him to rebuild it; and though for a long period none of the household but his mother and youngest sister would unite with him in this sacred service, he successfully persevered. The same year in which he joined the church, he found a few of its members of kindred spirit with himself, mourning over the prevalence of some vital errors, and the general manifestation of worldly-mindedness, and indifference to spiritual religion. They united in establishing a social prayer-meeting, of which he became the unofficial leader. In a letter to a friend, he thus refers to these meetings:

" Not only was the opposition of my own respected and dear father to be encountered, but that of other professors of religion, members of the same church with myself, and of the unconverted and the wicked. But God suffered *none of them to set on me to hurt me*, though some threatenings were uttered. Scarce a member of the church dared fully to countenance my course,—for really considerable excitement prevailed for a season among the people in relation to my course. I could not refrain from talking with every one that met with me, on the subject of religion ; nor could I refrain from holding religious meetings, called conference meetings, to read, pray, exhort and converse with such as attended, although only half a dozen ventured to attend. My brother, then a member of the same church, now the only surviving one besides myself, of seven, being of an independent spirit, regardless of the opposition of the minister, professors, and the multitude, although he did not unite with me in my course, yet allowed me at any time to hold meetings at his house. There was a Baptist in another neighborhood, not far distant, who would also allow me to hold meetings at any time at his house. I do not now recollect any other that would do it. A cousin of mine, deacon of the same church, and one among the more apparently religious of the professors, consented I might hold a meeting at his house, but before the day appointed came, he withdrew his consent, and utterly refused to permit it. I seriously asked him how he thought that it would appear in the day of judgment, his refusing the friends of Christ to meet in his house to pray and talk together of the things of the kingdom of Christ, because the enemies of Christ spoke against it. But nothing would move him. I insisted that his refusal was a violation of his previous promise to me, but to no purpose. Such was the state of things that immediately ensued, when it pleased the gracious Redeemer to give me comfort and life in religion. *A candle is not lighted to be put under a bushel.* My profession of religion, while I had only the *form*, without the *power* of godliness, made no disturbance. But the light cannot fail to give uneasiness to those who love darkness."

A competent and faithful witness, who then looked upon his course with some concern, and now records this portion of his history with evident impartiality, thus testifies :

"The opposition he met with, was principally from professors of religion. His naturally good temper secured for him the friendship of his early companions, for though he was serious, he was not morose; though religious, he was not austere. He maintained such consistency of conduct, that like the princes and governors of old, they could find no fault with him, except it was in relation to his God. Although his father rarely spoke peaceably to him, he bore all with such meekness of manner, and kindness of language, as fully to demonstrate that he had imbibed another spirit. His conduct in and out of the family was uniform. In his father's house, he was made to bear the yoke in his youth, and was trained to the cultivation of those graces, so useful in prosecuting the work, in which he was to spend the remnant of life."

But these maledictions of the evil-minded and the erring were not drawn down upon him without some corresponding attentions of another character. An evangelical minister in a neighboring town, about ten miles from Northboro', had been a witness of his toils and trials, and believing that God intended him for eminent usefulness, suggested to him the idea of obtaining a liberal education. Hitherto he had labored on the farm, but had embraced every opportunity of improving his mind to which he could obtain access; and thus had secured much useful information. How ardently such a soul as his, ever panting for enlarged usefulness and entire consecration to the service of his Redeemer, would seize on such facilities as were now thrown in his way, for this noble purpose, may easily be conceived. His preparatory studies, to enable him to enter college, were pursued at Leicester Academy. To assist in defraying his expenses (for then no education society reached out its fostering hand to the indigent), part of his time was occupied in teaching a day school in Paxton, and conducting the exercises of a singing class at night. In this alternation of study and teaching, three years were occupied. He offered himself as a candidate for matriculation at Williams College, in October, 1807, and on his examination he was found prepared to enter the sophomore class. This shows, as his biographer remarks, how well the previous years had been improved; that though he had been deeply and constantly interested in the salvation

of sinners, this solicitude had not been allowed to prevent the closest application to study. The principle was incorporated into his very soul, that he belonged to God, and that the best means of qualifying himself to serve him efficiently, were to be perseveringly and conscientiously improved.

We reluctantly pass over the notices in this volume, of the state of religion at that time in the college, and his endeavors to improve it, as well as the abundant evidence of his continued regard for the religious welfare of his relatives, and for the revival of genuine religion in the church at Northboro', of which he still continued a member. But the incipient manifestations of his missionary feeling demand a fuller consideration. His biographer states that,

"Before his entrance into college, he was the subject of deep solicitude for the salvation of the heathen, frequently referring in his conversation to their miserable state. It is not certain, that any distinct impressions of personal obligations to labor among the heathen were entertained until he commenced his collegiate studies in 1807. That, very soon after this, such impressions were indulged, is clear from statements made by his brother, then his most intimate correspondent, and from his own declaration frequently made in after life. Said he, a little subsequently to his entrance into college, 'I have deliberately made up my mind to preach the gospel to the heathen, and I do not know but it may be in Asia.' At this time, Samuel J. Mills, James Richards, and one or two others of kindred spirit, were members of the institution, and with them a free interchange of thought and feeling on this subject was indulged in, producing a regard, mutual, tender and lasting. More effectually to carry out their designs, these young men formed themselves into a 'Society of Inquiry on the Subject of Missions,' allowing no one to be connected with the association who was not understood to be pledged to the support of this enterprise. Each member was expected to give himself to the work, by bearing in person the word of life to pagan lands. All their sessions were held in secret."

In what way this spirit of missions in Williams College was connected subsequently with a similar spirit, which simultaneously had developed itself elsewhere, will be best understood by the following letter from Mr. Judson to Mr. Rice, which on many accounts we are disposed to transfer at length to our pages :

"**MY DEAR BROTHER RICE:**—You ask me to give you some account of my first missionary impressions, and then of my early associates. Mine were occasioned by reading Buchanan's Star in the East, in the year 1809, at the Andover Theological Seminary. Though I do not now consider that sermon as peculiarly excellent, it produced a very

powerful effect on my mind. For some days I was unable to attend to the studies of my class, and spent my time in wondering at my past stupidity, depicting the most romantic scenes in missionary life, and roving about the college rooms, declaiming on the subject of missions. My views were very incorrect, and my feelings extravagant; but yet I have always felt thankful to God for bringing me into a state of excitement which was perhaps necessary in the first instance to enable me to break the strong attachments I felt to home and country; and to endure the thought of abandoning all my wonted pursuits and animating prospects. That excitement soon passed away, but it left a strong desire to prosecute my inquiries, and to ascertain the path of duty.

"It was during a solitary walk in the woods behind the college, while meditating and praying on the subject, and feeling half inclined to give it up, that the command of Christ, 'Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature,' was presented to my mind with such clearness and power, that I came to a full decision, and though great difficulties appeared in my way, resolved to obey the command at all events. But at that period, no provision had been made in America for a foreign mission, and for several months after reading Buchanan, I found none among the students who viewed the subject as I did, and no minister in the place or neighborhood, who gave me any encouragement; and I thought I should be under the necessity of going to England, and placing myself under foreign patronage.

"My earliest missionary associate was Nott, who, though he had recently entered the seminary (in the early part of 1810), was a member of the same class with myself. He had considered the subject for several months, but had not fully made up his mind. About the same time, Mills, Richards and others joined the seminary from Williams College where they had for some time been in the habit of meeting for prayer and conversation on the subject of missions; but they entered the junior class, and had several years of theological study before them. You were of the same standing, but from some engagement (a school, I believe), did not arrive so soon, though you ultimately finished your course before the others, and joined the first party that embarked. Newell was the next accession from my own class.

"As to Hall, he was preaching at Woodbury, Conn. I heard that he once thought favorably of missions, and wrote him a short letter. He had just received a call to settle in that place, and was deliberating whether it was his duty to accept it or not, when the letter was put into his hand. He instantly came to a decision, and the next rising sun saw him on the way to Andover. I think that he arrived about the time of the meeting of the General Association of Ministers, at Bradford, in the summer of 1810. I do not however recollect him present at that meeting, nor was his name attached to the paper* which was presented to the Association, and which was originally signed by Nott, Newell, Mills, Rice, Richards, and myself; though at the suggestion of Dr. Spring, your name and Richards's, which happened to stand last, were struck off, for fear of alarming the association with too large a number.

* This memorial was written by Judson, and his name stood first of the list annexed to it.

"I have ever thought that the providence of God was conspicuously manifested in bringing us all together from different and distant parts. Some of us had been considering the subject of missions for a long time, and some but recently. Some, and indeed the greater part, had thought chiefly of domestic missions, and efforts among the neighboring tribes of Indians, without contemplating abandonment of country, and devotement for life. The reading and reflection of others, had led them in a different way ; and when we all met at the same seminary, and came to a mutual understanding on the ground of *foreign missions*, and *missions for life*, the subject assumed in our minds such an overwhelming importance and awful solemnity, as bound us to one another and to our purpose more firmly than ever. How evident it is, that the Spirit of God had been operating in different places and upon different individuals, preparing the way for those movements which have since pervaded the American churches, and will continue to increase, until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his anointed."

A single explanatory paragraph will throw light on the position of the subject of this memoir. Referring to this eventful period, in a letter to a friend, Mr. Rice observes :

"After the Society of Inquiry at Andover, was well established, the views of the brethren were turned very much towards the East. Judson was the first, as far as I know, who mentioned Burmah. He had read Buchanan's 'Star in the East,' his 'Christian Researches in Asia,' and 'Captain Simms's Embassy to Ava.' He insisted that the East afforded much the widest and most promising field for missionary exertions, and that the path of duty led in that direction. Six months after Mills and Richards joined the Theological Institution at Andover, it occurred to me (always pushing forward), that by leaving half a year behind at college, and joining half a year in advance at Andover, I could save a year between the two; and yet, by diligent application, accomplish the studies, so as to sustain the requisite examinations with my classmates in both institutions, which, with the concurrence of the president, and his recommendation, was carried into effect, and I became connected with those at Andover, who were a year before me at Williams College. Here I became acquainted with Judson; but chiefly in the meetings of the secret society, as he was but little at Andover after I entered that seminary."

It will thus be seen, that Mr. Rice was actually but two years and a half in college, though he accomplished the full amount of studies required, so as to graduate with his class honorably. So intense was his desire to join the first missionary band who went forth from this country, that he left the Andover seminary one year before he had originally intended (which the regulations then allowed), and by a kind of desperate importunity, prevailed on the conductors of the mission to allow him to go at that time, on condition that he should collect the means for his own outfit and passage. He says :

"This matter was adjusted only eleven days previously to the time of ordination. The prudential committee were not authorized to appoint or accept a missionary; and it was owing, therefore, entirely to an intenseness of feeling which could neither be restrained by myself nor resisted by the Committee, that I was enabled to force my way through the almost insuperable difficulties of the case, so as to go to India at that time. I had to provide by begging the funds for my outfit, passage, &c., and all this in the space of nine days; for two of the eleven passed before I learned that the day for ordination had been fixed upon. Three more were consumed in agonizing and successful (successful only because agonizing) efforts with the prudential committee, leaving only six days to provide the necessary funds. By the signal aid of Providence, this was effected."

The ordination of Mr. Rice and his associates took place at the Tabernacle Church, Salem, Mass., on the sixth of February, 1812. On the fourteenth of the same month, he reached Philadelphia in company with Messrs. Hall and Nott, and they sailed on the eighteenth, in the ship *Harmony* for India. Messrs. Judson and Newell with their wives sailed from Salem on the following day, and early in the ensuing August they were again united, having safely arrived in Calcutta. On the first Lord's day in September, Mr. Judson and wife were baptized by Dr. Carey; and on the seventeenth of the month, Mr. Rice made the following entry in his journal:

"Attended chapel service in the forenoon; brother Judson's text was Matthew 28: 19, 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them,' &c. His object was to show, what is baptism, and to whom it is to be administered. I have some feeling and difficulty on this subject which I find myself reluctant to disclose to my brethren. May the Lord himself lead me in his own right way."

On the eleventh of the following month, he entered into a free conversation with Messrs. Hall and Nott on the subject of baptism, and explained to them frankly the state of his own mind. They then spent some time together in special prayer for the divine direction. After patient and laborious investigation, he finally yielded to the conviction of duty, and resolved to apply for baptism. He apprized the Board of Commissioners of his change of sentiment, in a letter containing the following statements:

"The solemn and important ordinance of Christian baptism has presented itself to my mind in such an attitude, that I could not conveniently refrain from examining it. With very considerable means at command, I endeavored, I trust with prayerfulness, and in the fear of God,

and with no small impression of the delicacy and high responsibility of my situation, to give it a careful and very serious examination. But it is with peculiar emotions that I proceed to inform you, that in the result, I am compelled to relinquish a view of the sacred ordinance, which I have formerly apprehended to be highly important. I am now satisfactorily convinced, that those only who give satisfactory evidence of piety are proper subjects, and that immersion is the proper mode of baptism."

The following extract from the pen of Mr. Judson, throws additional light on this part of the biography :

"Mr. Rice arrived in Calcutta about six weeks after those of us who sailed from Salem. At that time I was deeply involved in the subject of baptism, which I had begun to investigate on board ship, and I soon learned that some of the passengers from Philadelphia were in a similar position, and that Mr. Rice had rather distinguished himself by reading every thing within his reach, and manifesting uncommon obstinacy in defending the old system.

"Soon after my baptism he came to live with me, in order to enjoy better accommodations than he found elsewhere. At first he was disposed to give me fierce battle: but I held off and recommended him to betake himself to the Bible and prayer. He did so, and lived much by himself, so that I seldom saw him except at meals. But his inquiries when we met soon assumed that cool and solemn air, which left me no doubt as to what would be the result of his investigation. His mind remained undecided throughout the month of September; so that, though perhaps he expected to become a Baptist, he signed the joint letter of the brethren as a thing of course; though that letter mentions my change of sentiment as a 'trying event,' and states the inexpediency of our laboring in the same missionary field. In the month of October, his mind became fully decided, and he was baptized [by Rev. Mr. Ward] on the first day of November. In all this, I discover not the slightest inconsistency, though persons at a distance and not acquainted with the circumstances, might make the desired discovery.

"Both Mr. Rice and myself have been accused of changing our sentiments suddenly, prematurely, and, of course, through the influence of interested motives. The truth is, that a Pædobaptist examining the subject of baptism, though about convinced of the truth, is reluctant to communicate the real state of his mind, even to his nearest friends, lest he should finally resettle in his old sentiments, and be ashamed to have it known that he ever had a serious doubt on the subject. The consequence is, that when he can hold out no longer, and the unexpected fact is thrust, perhaps unceremoniously, into the face of his friends, they all stand aghast, and are ready to ascribe his change to any other than an honest influence."

At this distance of time, and under the widely altered circumstances which now surround us, it is not easy to estimate fully the amount of impediment thrown in the way of these men, to hinder their taking the decided step which separated them from the sympathy and support of

those with whom they had hitherto been identified. It is well for the character of both of them, that their lives were long spared, and that they have been enabled to spend them in such a way, as to *live down* effectually the opprobrium and detraction, which for a score of years, was cast upon them in unstinted measure. But we more particularly desire to awaken renewed and more extensive gratitude both in view of that previous discipline which had fitted these brethren to face such a storm, and nobly act in accordance with their conscientious convictions of the teachings of God's word, and also in view of the benign results which have flowed from their decision, to American Baptists.

The government of the East India Company having pertinaciously refused the American missionaries liberty to remain in Hindostan, Mr. Rice with Mr. and Mrs. Judson sailed from Calcutta for the Isle of France, November 30, 1812, and arrived the middle of January following. After remaining there two months, it was thought best for Mr. Rice to return to the United States, in order to secure his regular dismission from the Pædobaptist Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,—to obtain the patronage of American Baptists, and engage their churches in the missionary cause, as well as by the voyage to endeavor to improve his own health, which had considerably suffered by an affection of the liver, which assailed him in India.

He came home by the way of South America, intending to reconnoitre that country as a missionary field. While on the voyage, March 25, he entered the following note in his journal. "This day I am thirty years old. I renewedly give myself to the Lord, renewedly devote myself to the cause of missions, and beg of God to accept me as his, and particularly as devoted to the missionary service." After spending two months in the city of St. Salvador, where, he remarks, "the Catholic superstition was entirely predominant, forming a state of heathenism as bad as any other," he obtained a passage on board a cartel for New York, with one hundred American prisoners of war, and several cabin passengers. Every Sabbath he was allowed to hold religious services, and on one occasion, when committing a deceased shipmate to the deep, his solemn exhortation was blessed to the conversion of a wicked sailor, who subsequently became a zealous and useful

preacher. Before they arrived in port, another was also converted by the instrumentality of Mr. Rice.

He reached New York early in September, and on the fifteenth of that month appeared before the American Board of Commissioners, in Boston. Besides giving them a full verbal statement of what had occurred during the whole period of his absence, he put into the hands of the Corresponding Secretary a written statement which he had prepared, on the particular subject of his change of sentiments in relation to baptism. We have already given so full a view of this change, that we must forego the pleasure of presenting this important paper in this connection. It is written with Christian courtesy, and merited what it did *not* receive, a suitable reply. After referring to this and some other unhandsome treatment, which he experienced from his former associates, he thus expresses his kind, Christian feelings towards them, and it is believed that all his subsequent course of conduct was in perfect harmony with the noble spirit which his language breathes :

"They are an excellent body of people, and are doing much good. I hope their remaining errors, particularly that concerning baptism, will at no very distant day be removed. Christians must all be united before the millennial state can take place. To be united, they must possess much more holiness and divine love and conformity to the Son of God, than they do at present. For this blessed result, let us devoutly, earnestly and constantly labor, strive and pray."

We have henceforth to regard Mr. Rice in a new relation; engaged in new, important, and very laborious and responsible endeavors to awaken the Baptist churches in the United States to the desirableness and practicability of combining their energies in the cause of missions. A meeting of a few leading brethren was held in Boston early in the autumn of 1813, to consult on the best course to be pursued. At first, it was thought advisable to make the Boston society,—formed in consequence of Mr. Judson's change of sentiments, under the broad name of "*The Baptist Society for propagating the Gospel in India and other foreign parts,*" and which had already assumed the support of Mr. and Mrs. Judson,—the parent institution, to which all others should become auxiliary. Mr. Rice succeeded, however, in so modifying this plan, that a meeting of delegates from all parts of the country should

be called at some more central point as soon as practicable, to form an organization for conducting mission operations on a more enlarged scale. With the concurrence of the brethren in the vicinity of Boston, he devoted himself, during the remainder of the autumn and the ensuing winter and spring, to preparing the way for the contemplated meeting. For this purpose he visited successively New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Charleston and Savannah, together with most of the prominent towns in the southern States especially, and met with encouraging success. The brethren whom he consulted, were almost unanimously desirous of a denominational movement and organization in favor of missions. His personal labors, and very extensive correspondence, resulted in the meeting of delegates from eleven States and the District of Columbia, in Philadelphia, on the 18th of May, 1814; where, after mature deliberation, "The General Missionary Convention of the Baptist denomination in the United States," was fully organized, to be regularly convened once in three years. Through the Board of this Convention all the foreign mission operations of the denomination have since been conducted. The Board immediately adopted Messrs. Judson and Rice as their missionaries, but thought it necessary for the latter to continue his labors in this country, for a time. In a letter to the devoted Judson, written a few months after, Mr. Rice says, "I hope in the course of five or six months to get the Baptists so well rallied, that the necessity of my remaining will no longer exist. And I certainly wish not to remain here a moment longer than my stay will more advance the mission, than my departure for the field again."

There is every reason for full confidence, that these were *then* his honest convictions and desires. Subsequent events show how much cause there is to regret, that this feasible plan, which he had marked out, was not persisted in. It is deserving of consideration, that this was not a hasty and crudely formed opinion. It is his deliberate record, after having travelled extensively and canvassed the whole ground for at least one year. In the progress of his future labors, he saw other lights, and, following their guidance, he was led to enlarge the sphere of his endeavors and enterprises far beyond what he had originally contemplated;

and He, whose prerogative it is to bring good out of evil, may have overruled the mistakes of the individual, so as to promote, indirectly and generally, the public welfare. But so far as Mr. Rice was personally concerned, these mistakes are not the less to be regretted.

The toil, the skill, the patient perseverance which were found requisite to enlighten the public mind, to arouse the slumbering conscience, and to warm the heart on this subject of foreign missions, was immensely great. One of the early mistakes into which the Board seem to have fallen, was the impression that, all this might be satisfactorily accomplished by a single individual. For obvious reasons, Mr. Rice would appear better fitted than any other they could obtain, to undertake this service. There would naturally be a lively curiosity excited to see and hear one who had taken his life in his hand, and gone forth on the great errand of evangelizing the heathen, and whose mind, under circumstances of unwonted interest, had been led to embrace views peculiarly dear to Baptists. But after he had once and again visited our principal cities and towns, and been present at the anniversaries of associations and societies, it was not reasonable to expect that this peculiar interest in him personally would be continued. There was not, in fine, any good reason why he should be detained from the great work to which his life had solemnly and repeatedly been devoted, in order to perform certain preliminary and preparatory services, which might with entire propriety have devolved on others.

The whole of the year following the formation of the Convention, he spent in the manner above indicated, in the northern and eastern States, visiting churches, associations and missionary anniversaries, and carrying on at the same time an active correspondence with influential brethren throughout the Union. The next year,—1815–16,—he spent in a similar manner in the southern and western States. From his annual report to the Board in 1817, a single sentence will show a specimen of his toilsome career. “In fifteen weeks, besides travelling more than 3300 miles [for the most part “in loneliness,” without those facilities, be it remembered, for rapid and easy transition now furnished], and attending *the North Carolina General Meeting of Correspondence*, a *yearly meeting* in Virginia, a meeting of *the Kentucky Baptist Mission So-*

ciety, and assisting the formation of a *mission society* in Tennessee; a kind Providence enabled me to visit *fifteen associations*, spread through Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi Territory, the Carolinas and Georgia, securing at each association a public collection to aid the missionary funds, and the adoption of a plan of regular intercourse and correspondence with the Board." In ten months his collections had amounted to more than four thousand dollars. The receipts of the Board for that year were about double their expenditure; and looking at their position with the advantage of all the light which subsequent experience has made available, it would now seem, that had Mr. Rice been then encouraged to return to India, and devote his remaining years to the service of God among the heathen, his own course would have been relieved from much that was painful and embarrassing, and perhaps the general objects of benevolence might, on the whole, have been more happily promoted.

Some of those influences which it has ever seemed to us were in no small degree efficient in the production of the mistake abovementioned, were pretty obviously developed at the meeting of the General Convention in 1817. "The internal embarrassment and obstruction experienced by the Board in the discharge of their duties," which they distinctly announce in their annual report, was of such a character and extent as left its bitter fruits for years afterward, in the alienation of brethren, resident in the vicinity of the then acting Board. As this schism somewhat endangered the future prosperity of the missionary enterprise, it made the majority of the Board, on whom the responsibility rested, unduly solicitous to retain still longer the aid of Mr. Rice in this country, thus diverting him from the return to missionary labors, for which his heart had panted.

Another mistake, in part, at least, traceable to the same cause, seems to have been committed at the Convention of 1817. It consisted in multiplying the objects to be embraced by the operations of the Board. Home Missions, and Education, were both formally introduced; and to make room for them, and for any thing else of a religious character, some latitudinarian clauses were inserted in the constitution as "*amendments*." Subsequent experience has fully proved, that to amend is not always to improve.

Nine years afterward, that is, at the Convention of 1826, it was resolved, with great unanimity, to fall back upon the original and simple plan of the Convention, as an organization for foreign missions only. The debates and reports of committees at that session,—particularly those in reference to the Columbian College, the Luminary and Star, and the relations and conduct of the general agent, Mr. Rice,—will remain a beacon, to warn against the all-grasping purposes of any association, however pure and disinterested may have been the motives in its organization.

In the 2d volume of the Christian Review, pp. 115—136, a pretty full view of this education enterprise of the Convention, and the part taken in it by Mr. Rice, has been presented to our readers, chiefly from the pen of the first editor, the lamented Knowles. It evinces his usual discrimination and impartiality, and supersedes the necessity of retracing, in this connection, the minute particulars of what all the friends of Mr. Rice will now unite in regarding as his chief error. With what cheering auspices it commenced,—at least in his own view,—will be manifest by a short extract from his report to the Convention, in 1820 :

"It has afforded me no small pleasure to find it convenient, incidentally to other matters on hand, to bestow some attention on the object of providing, at Washington, a site for the institution to promote the education of the ministry, and ultimately for the foundation of a college, under the direction of the general Convention. Considerations of no ordinary influence induced the brethren, Brown, Cone, Reynolds and myself, to open a subscription paper for this purpose. The success has amply justified our calculations. To pay for the ground, or lot of 46½ acres, to erect a building, to endow a professorship, and for some other points in the general concern, nearly \$10,000 have already been subscribed, and part of it paid. This being the result of the incidental attention of an individual, with comparatively little aid from others, and that, too, for but little more than half a year, demonstrates the practicability of accomplishing a most important object in a short time. Thus far the hand of a kind Providence has signally favored the design. A building has already been commenced, 116 by 47, which will contain rooms enough to accommodate from 80 to 100 students. It only wants the countenance of the Convention, with the blessing of Heaven, to insure complete success."

The countenance of the Convention was very fully extended to this enterprise; and again, in the report of the general agent to the next Convention, in 1823, he says :

"The concerns of the Columbian College have necessarily engaged a large portion of my attention. The success, however, has surpassed

by far what was contemplated at the last meeting of the Convention. Little was it then expected, that by the time of the present meeting, about sixty students would be found in the institution, and a junior class half way through its year. Great exertions have been requisite in the financial department, and great difficulties have been encountered, but the good hand of the Lord has been signally manifest and favorable."

His biographer justly remarks, that

"Up to the Convention meeting in 1823, the expectations of the friends of the college were fully realized. Although at that time a debt of \$30,000 had been contracted, a confident belief was entertained that it would become all its warmest supporters could desire. But it was destined to pass through the most trying adversity. Notwithstanding the large amount already due, in consequence of the continued increase of students in 1824, the Board contracted for the erection of another spacious building, depending alone on funds yet uncollected, and even not yet subscribed. From this period the institution began to retrograde. The pecuniary liabilities of the Board were every day increasing, while public confidence was suffering continual diminution. In the midst of these unexpected reverses, some unhappy differences arose among the faculty and board of trustees, which increased the peril of the institution. The new building, which had gone up a single story, involving a serious expense, was suspended, while the number of students in attendance had considerably diminished."

The affairs of the institution, from this period, went on from bad to worse till April, 1827, when the faculty resigned, and the students were dispersed; nor was the college re-opened till the following spring. In the meantime, Mr. Rice had been obliged to resign his official connection with its management, as its treasurer and agent; though to the hour of his death, he ceased not to labor and pray for its emancipation from the embarrassments, into which he had unintentionally been a principal instrument of plunging it. At a later period, when calmly reviewing the disasters of this institution, he thus explains the steps, and candidly acknowledges the errors, which, as he says, were "connected with a result truly mournful."

"Four unfortunate errors produced, in the first instance, the embarrassment of the institution, viz., going in debt,—too much cost and parade of faculty,—incautiously crediting students, and supporting beneficiaries without means,—and my remaining so much of my time at the college to assist in managing its affairs, instead of being constantly out collecting funds. This erroneous course was fallen into more readily, because, at the time, funds were circulating freely through the community, and subscriptions and collections were easily obtained. But when debts had been contracted, an over proportion of faculty

employed, students largely indulged on credit, with beneficiaries on hand, a great change took place in the financial condition of the whole country; still, hoping this state of things would prove only temporary, the correction was not immediately applied, as it ought to have been, and serious embarrassment, at length, began to be felt."

In passing from the consideration of his connection with the college, it is proper to put on record the deliberate verdict of his biographer, that

"The most searching investigations of his conduct, in connection with the embarrassments of the college, leave not the shadow of suspicion on his integrity. In his whole history as agent, he sought not his own; and for years actually toiled without fee or reward beyond his personal expenses."

It appears, therefore, that for some seven years of his most active and toilsome labors, as agent of the Convention, his services were almost entirely engrossed in one branch of their operations. The duties which he performed, in direct furtherance of the cause of missions, were inconsiderable, and it will excite no wonder that this important object was again found languishing. At the meeting of the Convention in 1826, the constitution was revised, and the office of "General Agent of the Convention" (which Mr. Rice had filled from the first) was abolished, leaving the Board to employ such agency as they should think proper. From this time to his death, he was under no official appointment as the advocate of missions; but his zeal in this good cause had never been of that perfunctory character, which evaporates at the expiration of a formal commission. He lived *for the world*, and the heathen were never forgotten. Even when his incessant and self-sacrificing toils, for the relief of the Columbian College, would seem to have exhausted all his time and energy, he would always secure opportunities to help on the cause of missions, at home and abroad. He actually kept up an interesting correspondence with many of our foreign missionaries till the time of his death, with great general benefit to the cause.

He also engaged in the circulation of religious books, which he thought adapted to general usefulness. The recommendation from his pen,—found in the closing chapter of his memoir,—of religious biographies, specially enumerating those of Dr. Staughton, of the lamented Boardman, of Roger Williams, and of Andrew Fuller, as

among those he had thought most useful, was fully corroborated by his actions. We well recollect his order for 50 or 100 copies of the latter work, to dispose of in his southern travels. His own memoir, we trust, will be widely distributed, and we are sure it will be read, in this and succeeding generations, with increasing admiration of the many noble traits of Christian character, which he so strikingly illustrated.

No part of the volume has more deeply interested us, than certain developments made in the beginning of the eleventh chapter. The effect of severe trials,—the furnace of affliction through which he passed,—was manifestly salutary. That "*pride and naughtiness of spirit,*" which he so humbly confesses, were melted away; and the great Refiner and Purifier, who had fixed his love upon him, sat watching the process, with a heart of yearning benevolence, and hastened to administer relief and encouragement to his tried servant, the moment he was prepared for it.

We would gladly transfer to our pages the letter of Mr. Rice to his early and constant friend, Judson; in which, with admirable candor, and childlike humility, he gives the evidences of his contrition, and of the restored confidence and love of the brethren, from whom, for a time, he felt that he had sundered himself. Their kindness seems to have made the deepest and most salutary impression on his heart; and from this period, onward to his dying day, there was discoverable in him, a tenderness, a spirituality, and an elevation above the world, which gave to all his brethren the highest satisfaction. The deep concern indicated by him for a revival of religion in Washington city and vicinity, and several plans and propositions,—which he did not live to carry into effect,—for promoting this object, are presented to our notice in the closing part of this chapter. They do honor to his head and heart.

During the last year of his life, he made a successful effort to reform the habit of foolish talking and jesting, and in various ways to improve his own religious character and influence. His private and family prayers, and his unwonted fervency and pathos in preaching, seem to have shed around him, in a pre-eminent degree, the sweet reviving fragrance of holiness. Like a richly freighted bark, which has weathered many a storm, and bears

abundant marks of the rough elements, but at last comes into port with a prosperous breeze and a swelling tide, as if joyfully conscious of the perils escaped and the rest secured; so did the subject of this memoir look back upon his course with mingled emotions, as he felt himself drawing near the moment of final deliverance.

The closing scenes of his life are delineated with graphic fidelity and minuteness, by one of congenial spirit, whose heart was knit to him like that of David to Jonathan. Mr. Taylor has done well in transferring the entire description, by the pen of Rev. J. E. Welch, to the pages of the Memoir; but we dare not trespass on the indulgence allowed us in the Review, to follow his example. Mr. Rice fell asleep in Jesus, Sept. 25th, 1836, in Edgefield District, S. C. A large, white marble slab, with a very full inscription, has been placed over his grave, by the Baptist Convention of South Carolina; and throughout the southern States, where he had spent the last ten years of his life, almost exclusively, his death was more generally and deeply mourned, than that of any other individual of the denomination, in this generation. His biographer has gathered up and preserved in this volume, a pretty full selection of the eulogistic memorials of the man, which his departure called forth, from the pulpit and the press. Under other circumstances, this might be regarded as, at least, useless; but, all things considered, it was, perhaps, in this instance, best.

The last four chapters of the memoir are devoted to certain miscellaneous addenda to the life of Rice, which, notwithstanding their want of systematic arrangement, may be read with profit and interest.

From the description of his personal appearance and his manner of preaching, we select the following:

"By nature he was endowed with many of the essential attributes of an effective speaker. His appearance was highly prepossessing. Above the ordinary height, with a robust and perfectly erect form, there was at once produced on the mind of the beholder a most favorable impression.* None could fail to entertain respect, for it was demanded by a peculiar dignity of appearance and manner. Especially was this true, when he arose in the pulpit. With a full face, and comparatively small eyes, there was sometimes rather a dull and heavy cast of countenance, which

* We regret the necessity of quoting a sentence so bad in its construction. There is, grammatically, no subject to which the first two clauses can refer.

immediately changed when he became animated by speaking; his voice was clear and melodious. He had but little action, which, however, was appropriate and graceful. He was, at all times, when he addressed an assembly, remarkable for self-possession. Nothing seemed capable of discomposing his mind. Perhaps few speakers have been apparently less affected by external circumstances; whatever might be the character of the congregation, whether large or small, intelligent or ignorant, whether in the city or country, he was always distinguished for the same dignity of manner and readiness of utterance. . . . The style of Mr. Rice's sermons was, in many respects, superior. A refined, critical taste could, perhaps, have discovered, at times, a redundancy of words and phrases; but this was no more than might have been expected from discourses which were always extemporaneous, especially when it is known that the multiplicity of other duties allowed but little time for preparation. . . . The moment he began to speak, attention was roused, and uniformly the interest thus awakened was kept up throughout the services. The clearness of his conceptions, the accuracy and force of his language, and the solemn dignity of his manner, all contributed to render him one of the most interesting public speakers of our land. Occasionally, his eloquence was almost overpowering, particularly when he advocated the more sublime doctrines of our holy religion. Indeed, in the discussion of such topics, he may be regarded as having been most felicitous. There seems to have been a coincidence between the operations of his own mind, and those truths which, in their very nature, are vast and grand. The terribleness of Jehovah's wrath, the severity of his justice, and the rectitude of all his decisions, were themes which gave ample scope to his vigorous intellect, and in the discussion of which, he was not only instructive, but exceedingly impressive." pp. 271—273.

Though we have in the preceding pages expressed our dissent from the justification attempted, of his remaining in this country, instead of giving himself, according to his repeated and solemn vows, to actual missionary labors, we find no fault with the estimate here placed on the intellectual or moral character of Mr. Rice. Nor do we at all dissent from the view here taken, of the extensive influence which he exerted on the denomination, as well as on the age in which he lived, and on the world. We cannot but regard him as raised up, qualified, and specially sent among us by a benevolent Providence, to bless us in many ways, and to furnish us lessons of wisdom, both in his excellences and in his errors. Certain we are, that these last stand out with a distinctness and prominence, as warnings, which are not likely to be altogether disregarded.

The missionary enterprise, which he was a prime instrument in promoting, has exerted a mighty and benign influence at home, as well as abroad. This seems

to have been clearly anticipated by its early and enlightened founders. The members of the original Convention in 1814, in the address which they sent forth to the churches, with the venerated names of FURMAN and BALDWIN, the President and Secretary, gave utterance to some views, which the experience of more than a quarter of a century has amply confirmed. They say, "The independence of the churches, we trust, will ever among us be steadfastly maintained; but, with this, the holy combinations [missionary societies] we wish for, as they are entirely voluntary, can never interfere. Is it not a fact, that our churches are ignorant of each other to a lamentable degree? We have 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism;' why should our ignorance of each other continue? Why prevent us from uniting in one common effort for the glory of the Son of God? At the present Convention, the sight of brethren who had never met each other before, and who, a few months ago, had never expected to meet on earth, afforded mutual and unutterable pleasure. It was as if the first interviews of heaven had been anticipated."

While these, with RICE, and almost all of that illustrious band, have gone up on high, and "the interviews of heaven," which, when "anticipated," were so sweet, have become to them a blessed reality, we remain to share the benefits, and emulate the spirit of their example. In 1814, there were known to exist, in the United States, less than 120 Baptist associations, containing about 2,000 churches, 1,500 ministers, and 160,000 communicants. In the 27 following years, they have just about quadrupled in numbers, and much more in efficiency and influence. No candid observer of this period of history can fail to see that the missionary spirit has been a principal element in the process which Heaven has employed and blessed, for securing this increment, and preparing the way, we trust, for filling the whole earth with the knowledge and glory of God.

ARTICLE II.

THE POWER OF THE PULPIT.

THIS is derived from various sources. In the first place, the great subjects which belong specially to the pulpit, the character of God, the work of redemption, the immortality of the soul, contribute essentially to the preacher's power. So also the great interests with which the pulpit is connected,—whatever there is affecting in the present condition and future prospects of mankind, whatever there is impressive in the wonders of the cross, whatever there is attractive in the glories of heaven, or appalling in the miseries of hell,—all come under the recognition of the pulpit, and invest it with peculiar power. Then again, the pulpit addresses itself to the strongest principles of our nature. It wields a sword which enters the heart, and pierces even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit. It is designed to grapple with the conscience, the divinely constituted sovereign of the inner man, and which is mighty even in its fallen state. It makes the most effective appeals to our hopes and to our fears, agitating the guilty with a fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, and leading the righteous to survey as their ultimate dwelling-place a world of light and joy, from which every natural and moral evil is excluded, where scenes of glory meet the eye at every step, and where bright and boundless prospects are spread out before the immortal mind.

In addition to this, the pulpit derives efficiency from the special appointment of God. It is his chosen instrument for the conversion of the world. By preaching, he is pleased to save them that believe. Hence he who is appointed to this high station, and who fulfils his trust, is invested with an energy divine, an unction from the Holy One. He wields weapons that are of ethereal temper, bright from the armory of heaven, massive, round, and mighty through God. But, however great the power which the pulpit derives from the sources we have named, it should

still be remembered, that every station in life is affected more or less by the persons who occupy it. No man can depend on the adventitious circumstances of his situation. The office he fills will be essentially modified by his own character. The office of a Christian minister is not an exception to this rule. Moral obliquity will not be sanctified, nor mental imbecility elevated, by a high and sacred station. On the contrary, every man will sink his office to his own level.

The power of the pulpit depends, therefore, essentially upon the minister himself. If he wishes to come forth to the people in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ, much, of course, will depend on his immediate preparations. If he enters the pulpit expecting a miraculous supply of thought and knowledge, he will be disappointed. He may smite the rock, but no refreshing waters will gush forth. Much depends on the freshness and vigor with which he enters the pulpit. Too often the labors of the previous day and a sleepless Saturday night entirely unfit the minister for the exercises of the Sabbath. His energies are exhausted, his mind is jaded, and then every thing drags heavily. His bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible. Much depends on the interest he feels in his profession. There is in this respect a wide difference among ministers. With many of our most able men there is an evident want of interest in the exercises of the pulpit. Their time, and learning, and intellectual powers are appropriated to other purposes; and comparatively little attention is given to the preparation of a sermon. Preaching is regarded not as a prominent and vital part of their profession, but too often as an unwelcome and cumbrous appendage. Hence, as might be expected, they are inefficient in the pulpit. "The moment," said an eminent divine, "we permit ourselves to think lightly of the Christian ministry, our right arm is withered. For no man ever excelled in a profession to which he did not feel an attachment bordering on enthusiasm, though what in other professions is enthusiasm, is in ours the dictate of sobriety and truth."

The power of the pulpit is affected by the minister's general deportment in society. He is in danger of lowering his office by an undue regard to popular favor, bowing and cringing, to secure friends, like the artful politician.

Nothing is more unworthy of him. He is bound, indeed, to be courteous and affable among the people; but low arts and fawning sycophancy are a degradation to the ministerial character. Nor can any man succeed by a clandestine policy, a minister least and last of all. He is a public character; every eye is upon him, and detection is inevitable. Whatever he says or does in darkness will be heard in the light, and proclaimed upon the house-tops. Artifice in him is, therefore, the utmost folly. Besides, if he is what he ought to be, there is no need of it. He is an ambassador of Heaven, set apart by God himself, to proclaim peace on earth and good-will toward man; and if he is faithful to his high trust, he has nothing to fear. He may indeed have enemies, but the pious and the judicious will be his steady friends; and, what is still more desirable, he will receive the approbation of his own conscience and the smiles of Heaven.

A feverish sense of reputation tends utterly to destroy the power of the pulpit. Is it this which leads to eccentricities in the choice of subjects and the manner of treating them. It is this which prompts "the jest, and attitude, and stare, and start theoretic, practised at the glass." The multitude may smile, and the ungodly be proud of their minister, but where is the dignity of the pulpit? A preacher, to produce the greatest impression, needs to forget himself, and, in a sense, to forget his audience, and to make them forget him. Such is said to have been a prominent characteristic of Hall. It is true his hearers were awed, penetrated, overpowered at times by his eloquence. To use a figure of his own, "It was the harp of David which, touched by his powerful hands, sent forth more than mortal sounds, and produced impressions deeper and more permanent than the thunder of Demosthenes or the splendid coruscations of Cicero." "But the preacher appeared wholly absorbed in his subject, given up to its possession as the single, grand impulse of the mental achievement which he was performing. The tacit thought, 'It is I that am displaying this excellency of speech,' did not seem to enter his mind, and his hearers caught the same spirit. They listened to him, not as a source of amusement, but as a spring of living water." They were too much interested in the truths he uttered to waste a moment's thought on the speaker, and testified

their approbation, not in loud applauses, but in penitential sighs, not in heaping encomiums upon the preacher, but in exercising repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ.

A minister's power in the pulpit depends very much on the temper which he manifests in the communication of truth. Fidelity, say our reformers, fidelity, uncompromising fidelity, is our motto; and an excellent motto it is. We would not blot out a single word, only let it breathe the spirit of affection. Truth, to have effect on the heart, even the depraved heart, must be spoken in love. The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle, showing all meekness unto all men. It is in the spiritual world as in the natural. God may occasionally, and for special purposes, appear in the earthquake and the volcano, the whirlwind and the storm, levelling forests, melting mountains and shaking the solid world; but these are not the ordinary operations of nature. The richest blessings result from milder influences,—the laws of attraction, the benignant rays of a vernal sun, the refreshing shower, the dews of evening. So, in the kingdom of Christ, there may be occasion now and then for something like a moral tornado, that shall tear up old and corrupt institutions by the roots. Guilt is not unfrequently enclosed within too strong a fortress to be affected by the gentle tap of a gloved hand; the well-told stroke of the brazen knocker is what is wanted, a blow that shall resound through the whole edifice, and send consternation and dismay along the ranks of the ungodly. But usually God employs milder influences, the fruits of the Spirit, love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith. The greatest good is accomplished when uncompromising fidelity to the truth is united with a persuasive tenderness of address. The masculine energy which distinguished the harbinger of the Messiah, who bore on his features and in his character the roughness and hardihood of his own wilderness, stern, awful and majestic, fit to alarm a slumbering world;—such energy should, if possible, be combined with the mildness of the beloved disciple who was wont to lean upon his Master's bosom, was the confidant of his retired moments, and who cherished the spirit which to the last he enjoined upon his brethren, Little children, love one another.

A minister's power in the pulpit depends much upon the character of his mind. It is not sufficient that he possess talents; the peculiarities of his intellect may unfit him for the business of life, and especially for preaching the gospel. It is possible to be too metaphysical; there is no danger, indeed, of being too intimately acquainted with the principles which govern the human soul. This knowledge invests one with an influence over others, that is almost unbounded. This is the cause of the deep interest and universal admiration excited by the genius of Shakespeare. "Every reader feels the hand of the poet searching his own bosom, and is alternately melted to tears, thrilled with joy, or racked with horror." One single thing accounts for this magic power; the dramatist had studied the human heart, and knew infallibly how to direct the movements of his hand. But it is possible to have a taste for metaphysics, without having a metaphysical mind. Thus men

"will sever and divide,
A hair 'twixt north and northwest side,"

who are unable to make a judicious arrangement and division of a sermon, and, instead of stating a common truth in a common way, will torture it into the form of an obscure proposition, and attempt to show with a look of wondrous wisdom, "the distinction between being and well-being, in reference to the divine causation." Surely, there is such a thing as being spoiled through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.

The pulpit, though demanding discrimination and clear statements of divine truth, is no place for subtle refinements. Study to show thyself approved unto God, is the apostle's charge; a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth; but foolish and unlearned questions avoid, for they are unprofitable and vain. A speculative spirit, unaccompanied as it often is with a philosophical mind, is exceedingly dangerous in a minister of the gospel. This will lead him to see difficulties which he cannot remove, to start objections which he cannot answer. This, too, is the prolific source of innovations in theology. Whatever is old and familiar, it views with disgust, and is impatient for something new

and startling. Let this spirit enter the pulpit, and Christianity loses her vitality and power beneath its withering touch. The religion we preach is not susceptible of additions and retrenchments from the agency of man. It was perfect and complete as it came forth from the hands of its author. It is a sun, which arose in full-orbed brightness and shone forth in its meridian splendor at once. If any man, therefore, shall teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing.

But still God does not here any more than elsewhere encourage indolence in the human mind; though the system of Christianity is perfect, the same cannot be said of our knowledge of the system. Here is a field for inquiry. In Christianity, as in nature, God acts upon the principle of the judicious instructor, who does not impart to his pupils at once his own knowledge, but teaches them to think for themselves. Hence exhaustless stores of knowledge are held in reserve, and golden ore lies in the hidden depths. The great principle of our religion, like the laws of the material universe, cannot be understood without thought. They are concealed from the eye, and can be grasped only by the spirit of investigation. Thus it is in nature; what is barely necessary to support life presents itself, indeed, at once, to the most unthinking mind. The rudest savage knows enough to keep himself alive; he looks around, and lo, on every side are scattered in luxuriant profusion the means of his support. The spontaneous productions of the earth satisfy his hunger, the rivulet, springing cool and fresh from the mountain side, quenches his thirst, the shades of the forest protect him from excessive heat, and the caves of the earth or the clefts of the rock are his hiding-place from the wind and his covert in the storm. Thus, with but little mental exertion he may live, and breathe, and protract an existence as useless as it may be long. But the institutions and improvements of civilized society, the system of astronomy, for instance, discovered by Newton, the mariner's compass, the art of printing, do not spring up thus spontaneously from the earth. The principles on which they depend are hidden from our sight, and before they can be drawn out and reduced to practice, our dormant energies must be aroused, and that

reason with which the Creator has endowed us must put forth her highest exertions. Thus it is with Christianity. A knowledge of repentance, and faith, and baptism, may be obtained by a mere glance at the sacred volume. He that runs may read. The wayfaring man, though a fool, may not err here; but these, after all, are only the rudiments of the doctrine of Christ. There is a storehouse in reserve, unlocked only by patient toil, and prayer, and thought. To the spirit of honest inquiry, new and brightening fields are presented, boundless as creation, unlimited as eternity, and glorious as God himself.

Activity of thought is essential to a preacher's power. We sometimes hear of a useless great man. But what is the use of a mind so great and deep that it can never be developed, never employed to any good purpose? Of all men in the world, a minister most needs an active, ready mind; a capacity to meet and manage sudden emergencies, and turn to a good account the thousand unforeseen events that are constantly occurring in the providence of God. The pulpit has here an opportunity for its mightiest appeals. A word spoken in due season, how good is it! The sharpest arrows in the hearts of the king's enemies are not unfrequently sped from a bow that is drawn at a venture. And here we see one great evil of reading sermons. We do not advocate extemporaneous preaching, in the strict sense of the term, but certain it is, if a minister would realize the greatest power, which he is capable of exerting in the pulpit, he must not be enslaved to notes. Let him, if possible, become so familiar with his subject, that he can go into the pulpit unfettered, and avail himself of the circumstances of the occasion, and bring in those new thoughts which are sure to arise as his mind becomes warmed and excited in his theme. These are advantages too important to be lost. Giant intellects may not need them; but to men of ordinary talent and to poor readers especially they are indispensable.

A minister's power in the pulpit depends much on his mental acquisitions. "Give attention to reading," is the exhortation of an apostle, and no man can be efficient as a preacher, or long sustain himself in the ministry, without following the apostle's advice. There is no situation where there is such an incessant demand on one's mental resources as in the pulpit. "What shall I preach on

next?" is the sigh of many a pastor. In a denomination like ours, where there are many destitute churches, a young man of piety and common abilities may readily obtain a call. It is comparatively easy to assume the name and air of a minister. The veriest tyro may, if he choose, rank with the clergy, and stand as the grave bishop of a Christian assembly; but when the charm of novelty has ceased, and commonplace topics are exhausted, then comes the rub. If he trust to his native genius, all at once his inspiration will have departed, and our Samson stands completely shorn of his locks. A man does not become omniscient when he enters the ministry; nor is there any magic in the pulpit by which he can know what he has never learned, or be able to communicate what he has not himself acquired. To be an efficient preacher, therefore, without being a faithful student, is impossible. Still, there are various methods of acquiring information; the course of study pursued at colleges and theological seminaries, is not the only method. There have arisen eminent divines who were educated in other schools and who studied under different masters; such was Andrew Fuller, such was John Bunyan, and such were the first ministers of our denomination in this country.

Let a minister be well acquainted with his hearers, their habits of thought and action, their errors and prejudices; let their various trials and spiritual wants be familiar to him, and there will be continued interest, directness and force in his preaching. The ever-varying experience of Christians, and new forms of depravity in the ungodly, will be continually demanding fresh efforts and new applications of religious truth.

Nor will the minister find in any book more appropriate and ample resources than are presented in the Bible. This is in fact the right arm of his strength. Its history, its admirable delineations of character, its poetry unrivalled in sublimity, its moral precepts, admitting of safe and universal application, its exceedingly great and precious promises; above all, those doctrines which bring life and immortality to light;—these are themes which inspire the holiest feelings, and furnish the richest thought. They constitute the peculiar power and glory of the pulpit, and are evermore the food and life of spiritual minds.

But there is no one thing on which a minister's power so much depends as on his piety. If the love of God and the love of souls be wanting, whatever be his other qualifications, he is sure to fail. Here was the secret of Whitefield's power; neither his energy, nor his eloquence, nor his histrionic talents, nor any artifices of style, nor all these united, will account for the effectiveness of his preaching. The secret lay in a heart habitually imbued with the Holy Spirit, and which cherished a deep solicitude for the salvation of souls. "Man is guilty, and may obtain forgiveness, he is immortal, and must ripen here for endless weal or woe hereafter, are the themes which, expanded into innumerable forms, and diversified by an infinite variety of illustration, were ever in his heart and on his tongue. Let who would invoke poetry to embellish the Christian system, or philosophy to explore its depths, from his lips it was delivered, as an awful and urgent summons, to repent and believe." He was thoroughly and continually in earnest, and possessed therefore precisely that state of mind in which alone eloquence, properly so called, can be engendered, and a moral and intellectual conquest won. If we seldom witness this kind of eloquence in ministers of the gospel, the fault is their own; no class of men are called to speak on subjects so thrillingly interesting, and on occasions so awfully momentous. The pulpit imperatively demands the highest efforts of the human mind, and there is no place where the whole of a man's powers may be so advantageously employed. His reasoning powers, his imagination, his memory, his acquaintance with human nature, his mastery over men's passions and wills, all are here had in requisition. No man need fear in entering the ministry and giving himself entirely and exclusively to his profession, that his mind, however capacious, will be cramped, or that his acquisitions, however extensive, will be uncalled for. Let them be baptized in the Holy Ghost, and consecrated upon the sacred altar, and they will spring to newness of life. There is no profession, where every mental and moral power, and every variety of knowledge, are so available. A minister may lay the universe under tribute. If acquainted with what is known by men in other professions, it will enable him to perform with the more efficiency

the duties of his own. Whatever he can learn from history,—whatever he may know of the arts and sciences, or of the languages and literature of different ages and nations,—whatever information he can obtain from the farmer, the merchant, the mariner, or the mechanic,—every thing pertaining to matter or to mind, to the ocean or to the dry land, to this world or the world to come,—all may be brought to bear upon his appropriate work, and enhance the power of the pulpit.

ARTICLE III.

LIFE OF ALCUIN.

The Life of Alcuin. By DR. FREDERIC LORENZ, Professor of History at the University of Halle. Translated from the German by JANE MARY SLEE. 16mo. pp. 284. London, 1837.

THIS is an interesting little volume to the lover of history. Alcuin was the friend and teacher of Charlemagne, and the director of the public schools of the empire. Hence the biography of Alcuin necessarily includes the most interesting portion of the history of that monarch; and, as he and his learned friend cast the broadest light which shone upon that age of darkness, their very position, as the central luminaries of science, invests their character and history with peculiar attractions. When Charlemagne ascended the throne, the intellect of Europe was in a deep slumber. In Spain, the Moors checked the civilization introduced by Christianity. In Italy, the wars and feuds between the Lombards and Greeks were a hindrance to culture. The Franks were barbarians, and the Saxons were still in the darkness of paganism. In the British islands alone, of all the western division of the Roman empire, were flourishing schools to be found. Here Alcuin was born (in 735), and educated in the monastery of York, his native place. About the age of twenty, he was honored by being selected as the

companion of his teacher on a literary tour to France and Italy; and on his return, he became teacher in the monastery. Several years later, he was sent to Rome on business, and accidentally met Charlemagne at Parma, who was then meditating measures for introducing learning into his kingdom. This meeting was of great consequence to the destinies of Europe. There the plan was laid for placing Alcuin at once at the head of the monarch's noble enterprise. Consequently, after returning to York, and obtaining permission to enter upon the new and inviting field that was open before him, he set out for the court of Charlemagne, attended by several of his disciples as assistants. He resided with the monarch, as court teacher, and as superintendent of the public schools, so far as they were formed, eight years. We cannot do better here than make a quotation on the interesting topic of the character of those schools founded by Charlemagne for the benefit of his subjects :

"Without entering into a detailed account of each separate school, a general description may suffice. They were divided into three classes : to the first belonged all wherein the seven liberal arts, and the theological sciences were taught, and which, although chiefly designed for the education of the clergy, were open nevertheless to all who were desirous of qualifying themselves for secular employments. The school belonging to the monastery of St. Martin at Tours, which Alcuin founded at a subsequent period, and raised to eminence by his personal superintendence, may be considered as a specimen of this class. In a letter to the king, Alcuin gives the following account of it :—'I, your Flaccus, in accordance with your admonitions and wishes, endeavor to administer to some in the house of St. Martin, the honey of the Holy Scriptures ; others I would fain intoxicate with the pure wine of ancient wisdom ; others I begin to nourish with the fruits of grammatical subtleties ; many I seek to enlighten by the order of the stars. But above all things, I strive to train them up to be useful to the holy church of God, and an ornament to your kingdom ; that the unmerited mercy shown to me by Almighty God, and your liberal kindness, may not be altogether fruitless.'

"This account states distinctly enough, that the object of the school at Tours was to give a liberal education to the officers of the church and state. All the schools of the first class had indeed the same object, but all had not the same means of attaining it as that at Tours, at the head of which was Alcuin himself seconded by the pupils who were best qualified to assist him. From what we can learn of other cathedral schools, it appears that the greatest part of them stood in the same relation to the school at Tours and the court-school, as with us a public school stands to the Universities. The title or character of university, or, in other words, of an institution where all the sciences of that period

were taught, depended upon the personal qualifications of the director, and was not conferred on any particular place. The court-school naturally maintained this character the longest, because in that institution there were never wanting men of distinguished abilities, who preferred residing where their talents would be best appreciated and rewarded; with the rest, however, it was changed with the Principal, and was transferred at different times to different monasteries. At the sixth Parisian council held in the year 829, the assembled fathers presented a petition to the emperor, Louis the Pious, in which they most urgently but humbly besought his highness to establish by royal authority public schools in the three most convenient places in the empire, after the example of his father, and not to suffer the efforts made by Charlemagne for the increase of knowledge to fail from neglect. ‘This,’ added they, ‘will conduce to the advantage and honor of the holy church of God, to the benefit of the state and to the everlasting glory of the emperor himself.’ From this passage it appears, that in the reign of Charlemagne, there were places of tuition specifically denominated public schools, which fell into decay after his death; but the utility of which, to the church and state, was so generally acknowledged, that their re-establishment was desired. They must have been something different from the monastic schools, as they, so far from having ceased in the reign of Louis the Pious, were precisely at that time most flourishing, and in the most vigorous operation; an instance of which may be found in that of Fulda. These public schools were probably the superior establishments or universities, which were under the immediate direction of the state, and not subject to any bishop or abbot. The council urges the erection of three such schools evidently with the design of establishing one in each of the three principal divisions of the French monarchy—France, Germany and Italy. Whether, however, among the schools founded by Charlemagne, three only were characterized as public schools is unknown to us, and equally so the places where they were situated.

“To the second class belonged the seminaries for singing and church music; of which those established at Metz and Soissons were originally the only ones, and long continued to be the most renowned. Charles was greatly annoyed by the French mode of singing; for, besides that their harsh guttural dialect was by no means adapted to melody, the people imagined the beauty of singing to consist in the loudness of the tone, and consequently endeavored to out-scream each other. The reproach of the Italians was not unjust, that the French roared like wild beasts. It was only necessary for Charlemagne to have once heard the Roman church music, to cause him to desire and attempt an improvement in that of his own subjects. The national vanity of the French rendered them unwilling to admit the superiority of the Roman singing, but Charles proved that it was far better, and commanded that it should be adopted. Pope Hadrian I, who willingly seconded all the king’s efforts for the reformation of the church, presented him with his two best singers, Theodore and Benedict, one of whom Charles established at Metz and the other at Soissons. There, every one who desired to teach singing in any of the other schools, or to become a chorister in a church, was now compelled to acquire the Roman method of singing; in consequence of which this art became

thenceforth general on this side the Alps, and as perfect as the discordance of the French voices would permit. Instruction was also given at those institutions in organ-playing; but so long as organs could only be obtained from foreign countries, a few, and those probably the principal, churches could alone be provided with them. The first organ seen in France was sent in the year 757, as a present from the Byzantine emperor, Constantine V, to king Pepin; and it was not till the year 826, that organs began to be built in France. At that time, a Venetian, named George, presented himself to Louis the Pious, and offered both to build organs and to teach the art to others; an offer which the emperor accepted with pleasure, and ordered the artist to be provided with every requisite.

"The schools in which the commonest education was given, composed the third class, and were designed for those who moved in the subordinate ranks of life. Intellectual cultivation was not to be confined merely to the clergy, or to those among the laity whose birth and wealth called them to fill eminent stations in society; but knowledge was to shed its beneficial influence upon the lowest classes. The decree made by Charles on this point, was published in the year 789, and enforces again and again upon the monasteries the duty of establishing schools, in which reading, writing, cyphering and singing should be taught. We see, in the instance of bishop Theodulph, of Orleans, how that command was obeyed; and there exists no reason to suppose that it was not by degrees similarly attended to by the rest of the bishops. Theodulph caused a school to be opened in every village within his diocese, and expressly forbade the masters to accept from their pupils any other remuneration for the instruction afforded, than the voluntary presents which the parents might bestow, as a proof of their affection. This regulation was necessary, in order that the poor might not be deterred from attending the schools. Thus, was a more universal education secured to the lower orders, at the conclusion of the ninth century, than France can boast of in the nineteenth; and it is impossible to calculate what might have been the effect, had the same spirit and zeal that first called these schools into existence, protected them until they had taken sufficiently deep root to subsist without external support."

Alcuin had always regarded himself as an Englishman, and subject to the ecclesiastics of the Anglican church. His residence at the court of Charles was considered by himself as temporary. He therefore sought permission, which was reluctantly granted by the monarch, to return to his native country, anxious to resume his spiritual labors, as deacon at York, and to remove the reproach which had been cast upon him, of having abandoned his native country. But the frequent bloody revolutions in the Saxon heptarchy, rendered England an insecure residence; and the kingdom of the Franks being now distracted by heretical opinions, Charlemagne painfully felt the need of his old counsellor. The consequence was,

Alcuin returned, and now, for the first time, accepted a permanent place of trust in Tours. The archbishopric of York had been indirectly offered to him, and Charlemagne had always been desirous of conferring some distinguished office upon the most learned and excellent man of his times. Alcuin, however, with his native modesty and love of literary and religious repose, preferred to be an ordinary monk at Fulda. But the emperor thought it more fit that he should be abbot at Tours. In his long-continued controversy with the Spanish Adoptionists, he showed great theological learning and skill; and, by restoring unity to the church, he was, no less than Charlemagne himself, the pacifier of Europe. Though religious freedom was not sufficiently regarded, there was a respect shown to religious opinions, especially by Charles, of which subsequently, in the Middle Ages, no example is found.

The effect of the co-operation of the king and his counsellor in purifying and elevating the clergy, is thus stated by our author: "On Charles's accession to the throne, he found barbarians, hunters, soldiers and drunkards placed at the head of the church;—he bequeathed to his successor an intelligent and influential clergy."

Ministers were prohibited to bear arms, "to range the forests with dogs and hawks," to attend public sports and theatres. But the Franks, loving the chase no less than Englishmen at the present day, and the theatre like their own descendants, it was with the greatest difficulty that Charles could restrain the clergy from these forms of amusement. But Alcuin acted consistently with his belief, viz., "that an indulgence in them was perilous to the soul."

The following extract on humility is a specimen of the manner in which he inculcated Christian morals. It was addressed to a man of rank:

"We may learn how great a virtue is humility, from the words of the Lord, who, in order to reprove the pride of the Pharisees, said, 'Whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased, and whosoever humbleth himself shall be exalted.' The path of humility conducts to heaven; for the high and lofty One is to be approached, not with pride, but with humility. This we learn from the words, 'God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.' It is also said, in the Psalms, 'The Lord is high, and regardeth the lowly, but knoweth the proud afar off.' He

regardeth the lowly in order to exalt them, and knoweth the proud in order to humble them. Let us learn humility, by which we may draw nigh unto God ; he himself says, in his gospel, ‘Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls.’ Through pride, the angels, that wondrous creation, fell from heaven ; through humility, frail human nature is raised to heaven. A humble deportment is honorable among men ; for Solomon says, ‘Where pride is, there is also shame ; but wisdom is with the lowly.’ Even so saith the Lord, by the prophet, ‘But I look to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and who trembleth at my word.’ Whosoever is not humble and gentle, in him the grace of the Holy Spirit cannot dwell. Even God humbled himself for our salvation, that all men might be ashamed of pride. The lower the heart is sunk in humility, the higher is its reward above ; for whosoever is lowly here, shall be raised with power and glory there. The first step in humility, is to listen with patience to the word of God, to keep it in faithful remembrance, and obey it with cheerfulness ; for truth departs from those minds which are devoid of humility. The more humbly a man thinks of himself, the greater does he become in the sight of God ; and, on the other hand, the more dazzling the proud man is to his fellow-beings, the more abominable he is in the eyes of the Lord. To perform good works without humility, is to carry dust in the wind. Cease then, O man ! to glory in thy virtues, since in this matter thou wilt be judged not by thyself, but by another, before whom thou must humble thy heart, if thou wouldest be exalted by him in the day of retribution. Descend from thy high estate, that thou mayest reach one much higher ; humble thyself, that thou mayest attain greater glory, and not be deprived of that whereof thou boastest. Whosoever is little in his own eyes, is great before God ; and whosoever abhors himself, is well-pleasing unto the Lord. Be therefore little in thine own sight, that thou mayest be great in the eyes of God. Thy worth will be the more esteemed by God, the less it has been esteemed by thee. When in the enjoyment of the highest honors, maintain the greatest humility. The brightest gem in the crown of honor is humility.”

The emperor “frequently required the bishops to preach upon a subject selected by himself, which sermons were reported to him by his emissaries,”—“and often proposed various questions to the clergy, to which they were obliged to give a written reply.” Some of these questions must have been unwelcome themes for a ministerial essay ; such, for example, as,—“We wish that they would tell us what they understand by the declaration that they have renounced the world ; and how those who have renounced it are to be distinguished from those who still cleave to it.”

A passage occurs here, which, for its clear exhibition of the origin of several political usages in modern Europe, we will quote entire :

"In this way, a spirit of inquiry was constantly kept alive among the clergy ; and no man ventured to aspire to any ecclesiastical office, who was conscious of not possessing the requisite qualifications. We may, therefore, conclude that by the year 796, when Alcuin resolved to settle in France, the reformation of the ecclesiastical order was completely effected, and that only here and there a priest was to be found who belonged to the old system. Charles was now enabled practically to evince the respect which he entertained for the clergy, and to yield to them that influence which was due to their profession and external power, and which they merited by their intelligence and talents. They held henceforth the rank assigned to them by the Carlovingian constitution—the first in the state. The Carlovingian dynasty established their throne on Christian principles, or at least on those borrowed from the sacred writings of Christianity, and transformed the French into a Christian government. It is true, that the Merovingians had embraced the Christian religion, and caused themselves and their court to be baptized; but they changed nothing beyond the outward form, and that with the same indifference, as, under other circumstances, they would have adopted a new uniform. The Merovingian king retained the same relation to the French as he had previously held; the Carlovingians, on the contrary, presented to the Germans an entirely different aspect of regal power. From the Bible, they became acquainted with kings, who, elected by the nation and consecrated and crowned by the Almighty, derived their authority from God. Consecration by the priest placed the Carlovingian kings in this position. They subscribed themselves 'by the grace of God,' and were accustomed to regard their authority as derived immediately from God, and to consider every other power in the state as proceeding from, and subordinate to them. Whilst, therefore, the Merovingian sovereign was satisfied at his inauguration to be borne aloft on a shield, before the eyes of the people, amidst the acclamations of the by-standers, the Carlovingian system rendered consecration by a priest an essential and important ceremony. The Christian doctrine of the sacredness of the marriage contract formed also one of the fundamental laws regarding the succession. Under the Merovingian dynasty, the son of a concubine was as eligible to succeed to the throne, as the son of a lawful wife; and it would even appear that some of that house practised polygamy. Under the Carlovingian race, all illegitimate descendants were excluded from the succession; and examples of a departure from this rule occur only in times of confusion and distress, and were the consequence of revolutionary and illegal commotions. The same principle from which this and similar proceedings arose, induced the Carlovingians to exterminate every vestige of paganism from among the Germans; and to enact strict laws for the solemn observance of Sunday, and fasts; as may be found among the ordinances concerning the discipline of the church. A reformation of the clergy was, therefore, necessary in a political point of view. They were the principal support of the throne, and therefore held the second rank in the state, but it never entered into the contemplation of Charlemagne, to regard the ecclesiastical power in any other light, than as subordinate to the regal authority. The king preferred employing the bishops and abbots in political transactions, because he expected more from their superior intelligence, than from

men engaged in military pursuits, and was the more willing to entrust them with an extensive jurisdiction, as he felt convinced that a faithful minister of religion would be the most impartial administrator of law and justice."

There are other interesting particulars, relating to the literary efforts of Charlemagne and Alcuin. On one point the king and the monk were at variance :

"The clergy, whose taste had been refined by the cultivation of classical learning, on the one hand, despised their native language as a barbarous dialect, whilst, on the other, their Christian zeal led them to shrink from it as dangerous, from its association with paganism. The peculiar bent of Alcuin's mind rendered him particularly desirous, not only that the language should be neglected, but that every trace of the heathen condition of the country should be obliterated ; in which opinion, all who had been educated in his school, as well as those prelates whose views were similarly directed, concurred.

"But notwithstanding the education of Charles had given his mind also a bias in that direction, and that he was compelled by the Carlovingian constitution to eradicate all the remains of paganism from among the people, still his penetrating genius, unshackled by the trammels of religious zeal, saw the importance of cultivating a national literature, and the necessity of improving the national language. As Alfred the Great endeavored to substitute Latin for German among the Anglo-Saxons, and as he, in order to inspire the laity, in particular, with a taste for the sciences, himself translated some interesting works from Latin into German ; so Charlemagne perceived, that to advance the national civilization, it would be necessary to introduce a foreign education, like as a husbandman grafts into his trees a branch from a superior stock to improve their quality and increase their produce.

"His biographer relates, that the king caused to be written down, and learnt by heart, some old German, or, as they are called in elegant Latin, barbarous songs, which celebrated the deeds and wars of former kings. It is well known, that the Germans, like other nations, who were ignorant of the art of writing, or amongst whom it is not in general use, perpetuated the memory of their heroes, both from a sense of gratitude and to kindle emulation, by songs which were communicated orally from one to another. The songs, however, collected by Charlemagne, seem not to have extended into the remote history, or to have comprehended many tribes of the German nation, if, indeed, we may speak of the Germans in those times as one nation. They were probably limited to the race of the Franks, and to the deeds and praises of the Merovingian kings. By this collection, the king hoped to form a basis, on which to construct a grammar of the German language. He himself commenced the task, but did not complete it ; and nothing remains of this work of the great monarch, but the German names that he bestowed on the winds and months.

"This detail shows, that, in his anxiety for the improvement of the German language and literature, Charlemagne stood almost alone, and that there is no foundation for the assertion which has been made, that one of the academies founded by Alcuin at the court of France, was

established expressly for the study and advancement of the German language. Opinions and statements are to be met with in history, which have been originally introduced from a certain external probability, and which, having once succeeded in obtaining admission, claim a prescriptive right to the place they have usurped, although owing it solely to misconception. To this class, belongs Charlemagne's academy. Charles, as well as his learned friends, are mentioned in the writings of that period under assumed names, from which it has been inferred, that some literary society or academy existed at the French court, in which, as in modern times, the members adopted some name according to their fancy or their partiality for this or that author. Fixed rules, and a distinct object, to attain which all the members labor in common, are necessary to constitute an academy; but no allusion is made to a society of that description, either in contemporary works, or the letters of Alcuin, who had ample opportunity of mentioning the fact, and was, of all men, least likely to omit doing so. The assumed names in no way refer to a literary society, unless a meaning be assigned to them belonging to the habits of a later period, rather than to what was customary and possible in the days of Charlemagne. It is, however, only necessary to have read Alcuin's works with attention, to discover, that, from his predilection for allegory, he often bestowed names on his friends in jest, which, from their appropriateness remained attached to them in earnest, and became affixed to their real names as surnames, as, for example, Rabanus Maurus. The signification which has been attributed to them, is proved to be erroneous by the circumstance, that not only one surname was given them, but two, and even three, which varied with the circumstances to which they referred. So king Charles is usually called David, but many times, also, Solomon. As, in those days, historical references were chiefly derived from the Old Testament, so, on the one hand, nothing could be more flattering than a comparison with him who was peculiarly the founder of the Jewish kingdom, the brave, the single-minded, devout son of Jesse; and, on the other, with his successor, famed alike for his magnificence and his intelligence, and who, in the middle ages, was honored as the type of spiritual wisdom. Alcuin himself was called Flaccus and Albinus; the former, probably for the same reason as procured the name to the Latin poet, or because he was particularly partial to Horace, whose lyric verse he imitated in the judgment of his contemporaries, not without success; the latter appellation is manifestly a mere accommodation of his Anglo-Saxon name to the euphony of the Latin tongue. Amongst others, the two brothers, Adelhard and Wala, had double surnames; the former was called Antoninus and Augustinus, the latter Arsenius and Jeremiah. Einhard, the private secretary and biographer of Charlemagne, is a striking instance of the reason why, and the way in which, these names were given. He was a mathematician, and skilled in architecture, for which reason, Alcuin calls him, after the Jewish architect, of whom mention is made in the books of Moses, Bezaleel. We may, therefore, venture to affirm that this pretended academy is a mere fiction, without in any way detracting from the renown of Charles, whose zeal in the cause of literature is proved by too many splendid examples to need the aid of such suspicious evidence."

Alcuin's first object, after he became abbot at Tours, was to establish a school in that monastery. The monks at that time were extremely uncultivated, and were more devoted to agriculture than to letters. Alcuin was a schoolman; and he who always had the air of a pedagogue, could not fail in present circumstances to make instruction his first and chief business. Whatever were the difficulties he had to encounter in the rude habits of his new charge,—and of this history has left us no particular account,—he succeeded in drawing the hand from the plough and the vine-dresser's knife, to the parchment and to the pen of the copier. The learning and abilities of the teacher, and the order and zeal of the pupils, soon rendered this a celebrated school, second only to that of the court. Alcuin, who in early life had been accustomed to the use of good libraries, felt nothing so painfully as the scarcity of books in the empire. He therefore procured a royal commission for some of his own pupils to go to England to purchase a library, "that these invaluable fruits of wisdom," to use his own language, "might be transplanted into France, and flourish in the garden of Tours as luxuriantly as at York." These works were industriously copied at Tours, by the monks, and distributed in many parts of the kingdom; so that one library was, by the multiplication of copies, converted into many. By means of Alcuin's taste and accuracy, the manuscripts of this age became much more elegant and valuable than those of preceding times. He substituted the small Roman character in place of the pointed Merovingian letter, which not only facilitated the labor of copying, but increased the neatness of the execution.

But we must not infer from these particulars, that the improvements made were limited to mechanical skill. Many of the scholars of the highest distinction in the next century, were educated in the school of St. Martin at Tours. Thus the literary men of the empire, both in that age and the succeeding, were more or less nearly associated with Alcuin. Paulinus, bishop of Aquilea, Theodulph, bishop of Orleans, and Benedict, of Anian, who revived the order of Benedictines, were his associates. Wizo, or Candidus, as he was also called, Alcuin's successor at court, Fredigis, who afterwards became his successor at Tours, and Sigulf, abbot of Ferriere, had

been his disciples at York, and accompanied him as assistants into France. Arno, archbishop of Salzburg, Angilbert, prime minister of Pepin in Italy, Adelhard, abbot of Corbie, Wala, his brother and successor, Richbad, archbishop of Treves, and many other distinguished literary men and ecclesiastics, were his immediate disciples in France. Einhard, the celebrated biographer of Charlemagne, Agobard, Rabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda, under whom this school rivalled and finally eclipsed that of Tours, Hatto, who succeeded Maurus on his becoming archbishop of Mentz, and Haimo, bishop of Halberstadt, though they belonged in their public character to the next generation, were all educated at the monastery of St. Martin, under Alcuin.

Alcuin died at Tours, on the 19th of May, 804. His remains are deposited in the church of St. Martin, "and an epitaph, written by himself, and engraved on a copper plate, points out his resting-place to posterity."

We will close this notice with a few extracts from the biography, on the personal appearance and character of Alcuin :

"A painting was once preserved in the abbey of Einsideln, which is said to be a portrait of Alcuin. It exhibits a German face, with coarse harsh features, in which the austeries of monkish piety are visible. The individual is represented in an attitude the most appropriate to his calling and character, that of serious reflection, apparently upon theological subjects. The gloomy countenance, the wrinkled brow, and the compressed lips, indicate not that spiritual and enthusiastic devotion which fills the soul with rapture, and diffuses over the outward features a ray of the joy which beams within; but profound meditation upon some abstruse subject. But when we, in imagination, behold the furrowed brow smoothed, when we fancy the individual before us, unclosing his lips to communicate, with a delight that illuminates his melancholy eye, the discovery of the looked-for result, we can discern in these harsh features, that good-nature and kind-heartedness which Alcuin must have possessed, to gain, in the degree which he certainly acquired, the esteem and affection of an immense number of persons whom he had attached to him in the course of his life and instruction. His eyes then sparkle with that intellectual vivacity which he evinced in many of his writings, especially in his polemical works. Nothing but the traces of mortification and penance will then remind us, that we are gazing on a priest, who sought by abstinence to gain admittance into the kingdom of heaven.

"In the portrait of Alcuin, we may discern the leading features of his character. His whole mind had a religious and moral bias. These characteristic features are perceptible in every relation of his life. As the counsellor of a powerful monarch, he endeavored to procure for

morality, and the prevailing religion, an influence upon legislation, quite foreign to its purpose. Laws do not prescribe virtuous sentiments; they produce and encourage them, only in so far as they repress evil. The manner in which Alcuin sought to make the Bible the basis of judicial decisions, and to deduce the legal appointments of private persons from moral principles, is demonstrated by a fragment amongst his writings, in which he seems to have communicated to Charlemagne his opinions upon the right of inheritance.

"The same characteristic features distinguish him as a teacher. His endeavors were directed not so much to cultivate the understanding, still less the taste, as to improve the heart, and induce his pupils to pursue a moral and Christian course. He belonged to that class of persons, of whom Schiller says, that they enjoy a serious and pathetic poem like a sermon, and one which is naive or witty, like an intoxicating draught, who are so destitute of taste, as to desire to be edified by a tragedy or an epic poem, and are shocked at an ode of Anacreon or Catullus. To this is to be attributed the dislike which he exhibited in his latter years to the Latin poets, and his severity against a partiality for dramatic representations. For, in his more advanced life, in accordance with the character above described, he regarded every thing only with reference to its fitness for improving the moral sense, or its tendency to have a dangerous effect upon the passions.

"In him, every thing received a religious hue; all the sciences, with him, ranged themselves under the banner of religion, and formed a rampart to defend theology from the attacks of heretics and scoffers. He wished to rear a second Athens in France—but a Christian Athens. The schools established according to his plan, are, therefore, now commended by many persons, on the very principle on which others might be inclined to censure them; namely, that they were confined to religion, and intended only to educate good Christians. Alcuin's character was adapted to the necessities of his times, and as he had only to pursue the direction in which the natural current of events was flowing, he was enabled to accomplish his projects with the greater facility and success. In reviewing his character in the various relations of his life, the first thing that strikes us as being inconsistent with it, is the nature of a life at court. Not that he wanted ability to conduct himself with propriety in every station. His letters to Charlemagne are admirable specimens of his skill in paying an elegant compliment without being a flatterer, and of the agreeable mode in which he could offer instruction or reproof, without displaying that presumption and self-complacency, into which a preceptive or admonitory style is so easily betrayed. But the bustle of a court was as little compatible with his love of tranquillity, as the din of arms with his peaceful studies; and his admiration of Charlemagne proves that he did not possess that versatility of talent, which was requisite to satisfy the demands of the state and of science; and that he would have been overwhelmed in the boisterous element of public life. Although, in his intercourse with Charles, and in the education of the royal family and the young French nobility, he found even at court, a soil so far congenial to his nature, as to admit of his producing much valuable fruit, still the interruptions to which he was exposed were so disagreeable to him, that he longed for some abode where he might dwell in peace, and when he had once found it, he would never consent to exchange it for the court."

ARTICLE IV.

THE MORAL LIKENESS OF MEN CONTEMPLATED AS A GROUND OF ENCOURAGEMENT IN MISSIONARY LABORS.

BY REV. ROBERT W. CUSHMAN, PASTOR OF THE BOWDOIN SQUARE CHURCH, BOSTON.*

CHRISTIANITY was designed for the world. Its founder came a light to the Gentiles, as well as to be the glory of Israel. Although, as to his personal ministry, he was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel, his commission to his disciples, when he had made reconciliation for iniquity, and brought in everlasting righteousness, imposed the obligation to carry the glad tidings to the whole human race.

It is not among the least satisfactory of the evidences of the divine inspiration of the Scriptures, that they harmonize with the real wants of mankind, and are fraught with blessings for every nation, age and clime; and that, too, while the proof is every where scattered over their pages, that the people through whom they were given were under the dominion of a spirit of Pharisaism, which would fain have confined the knowledge of Jehovah to themselves, or, at most, would have extended it to those only, of other nations, who should be willing to sue for it at the outer court of their temple. Yet the spirit of the Bible is expansive as the light, and comprehensive as the nature of man. Although the posterity of Abraham were marked for a distinct and peculiar people, it is every where seen that they were under the government of him who was "not the God of the Jews only, but the God of

* This article was delivered as an address before the Society for Missionary Inquiry in the Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution, Aug. 18, 1840. As the present is an important crisis in our missionary operations, and as it is to be feared that a just sense is not entertained of the necessity of vigorous and united efforts to sustain the missionary enterprise, no apology will be needed for publishing the address in its present form. It has been solicited from the author, and is now given to the public, in the hope that its peculiar character and mode of treatment will render it serviceable to the cause of missions at the present juncture.—ED.

the Gentiles also ; " while the whole current of the divine disclosures reflects the wants and the coming blessings of a world. " The Lord looketh from heaven ; he beholdeth all the sons of men. From the place of his habitation he looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth. He fashioneth their hearts alike ; he considereth all their works." And, while he chooses the family of Abraham for his own peculiar inheritance, he determines that " in him all the families of the earth shall be blessed."

The spirit of revelation is thus essentially a spirit of missions. And it is a thought full of refreshing and hope, when we mourn over the ruins of the fall ; when the heart sickens at the

"every day's report
Of wrong and outrage with which earth is filled ;"

when the plaint of suffering humanity in remotest nations thrills our sensibilities ; when the moral wants of those from whom we are distanced by half the circumference of the globe, excite our compassion,—that the spirit within us is so kindred with that by which the prophets were inspired ; that the fire which we feel shut up in our bones, is the same heaven-descended element that kindled in the sacrifices of patriarchal devotion ; illumined and warmed the true worshipers of the temple ; shone forth in the Mediator of the new covenant, on " the land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles ; " and that, in giving vent to it in missionary enterprise, we are but carrying out the merciful purpose of him who is " the God of the spirits of all flesh."

Assuredly, the spirit which is thus harmonious with that of him " who so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish," has not been kindled to shed a flickering, futile light, and then expire. It prompts the prayer, " Thy kingdom come ; thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven." It rouses those whom it warms, to aspire to be co-workers with God himself, in putting an end to sin ; and, as the word he has given shall not return to him void, so, neither shall the efforts of the company that publish it be in vain.

Not only is there encouragement, however, for missionary endeavor, in the fact of a coincidence of the mission-

ary spirit with the spirit of the Bible, and the declared purposes of God with respect to the moral renovation of the world, but also in the fact of the natural fitness of the means furnished for effecting that renovation.

It is true, indeed, that when we contemplate the difficulties that lie before us in any undertaking, it should be sufficient encouragement to know it is the will of God it should be done. It should be sufficient, in our weakness, to know that "to them that have no might he increaseth strength;" that whatever he has commanded *can* be and *will* be accomplished; that, though "all flesh is grass, and all the goodliness of man as the flower of the field, yet the word of the Lord shall stand for ever;" and, therefore, "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain: and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together;" and that, as to natural fitness of the means, we ought not to despond, if, in obedience to his command, we were entering the church-yard, to preach the gospel to the tenants of the grave, and to bid the dry bones live. But it may well add, nevertheless, and greatly add to our encouragement, to discover, amid the apparent impossibilities of our enterprise, some ground for expectation in the natural adaptations and fitness of things; to discover,—while we are contemplating the magnitude of the work,—while we are looking on the world we are required to raise,—that God has not only promised supernatural power to our arm, but has given us the lever and the fulcrum that are measured to its magnitude; and the footing—the *Δος πον στῶ**—on which to stand. We have not only a world of fallen men to raise from the confines of perdition to the neighborhood of heaven, by means of the gospel, but we have a basis in the nature of man for the application of its power.

Two things obviously claim the study of those who would bear an efficient part in bringing the world to the obedience of the faith: they must have an understanding of the instrument, and of the object on which it is to act; a knowledge of the gospel, and a knowledge of man. To

* *Δος πον στῶ, καὶ τὸν κοσμὸν κινησό.* Give me where I may stand, and I will move the world.—*Archimedes.*

the office of imparting the former, our Theological Seminaries are specially consecrated; but the means of obtaining the latter are seldom adequately in the student's power. Devoting himself, while young, to his studies, and mingling but seldom with any except those of similar age, pursuits and spirit, he sees and hears but little of the nature to which he belongs, and on which he is to operate, till he is ushered forth into the field of his toil. I cannot, therefore, but regard the existence of a Society among those who are preparing, some for the domestic and some for the foreign work of the ministry, the object of which is to prosecute inquiry into the facilities and the difficulties which are before them, as most auspicious of success; and I meet, with peculiar pleasure, the members of this Institution, this evening, in the capacity of a band of missionary inquirers. I would join your company. I would ascend with you some eminence, from which we may, together, survey the world; and, while we contemplate the almost endless variety of mental character, social habits, and civil and religious institutions, which seem to bid defiance to the simple instrument which we are directed to employ, I would point your attention to a common characteristic, the same through every age and clime, as an excitement to hope and exertion.

Diversified, indeed, is the aspect of the human family; *so* diversified, that not a few have been led to doubt the common origin of the races of which it is composed. In *color*, from the lily blending with the rose, to the deepest ebony. In *form*, from the symmetry of the Circassian and the classic Greek, to the lank and misshapen Australian. In *stature*, from the mammoth of men that stalks among the wilds of Patagonia, to the pigmy Laplander. In *mind*, from the philosopher, whose

“soul, on curious travel bent, ranges
Through all the provinces of human thought,
In each recess of space and time, at home,
Familiar with their wonders,”

down to the savage, whose arithmetic goes not beyond the number of his fingers. Every nation and tribe has its traits, in which it differs from the rest; and, in some of them, every generation its peculiarities, which distinguish it from the past. And, finally, in *speech*,—that

medium of the action of mind on mind,—the hills and valleys of the globe are scarcely more diversified than the languages of those who inhabit them.

Let us look at some of these diversities, as they stand related to the aim of the Christian ministry. And first, let us take a glance at the moral features of our own people. A people ever awake, full of inquiry, and ever eager to improve their condition, one might justly expect, would spontaneously discover the truth, be alive to its purifying influence, and adjust to its requirements the economy of their lives. And certain it is, that if there be a character more hopeful than those of the rest of the world, it is the inquisitive, the energetic and enterprising, which belongs to the American people. But alas! this inquisitiveness, this energy, are engaged and engrossed in other kinds of enterprise than that of seeking the blessings of the life eternal. The master passion of this nation is the lust of gain and power. It rules the poor,—it rules the rich; and never says, of accumulation, ‘It is enough.’ It rules the ignorant,—it rules the learned; and lays all learning and science under tribute to personal aggrandizement. The tenant of the humble cottage rises early to eat the bread of carefulness, that he may repose in a more respectable dwelling; and the tenant of the commodious mansion is struggling upward towards a palace of marble. House is added to house, field is added to field, ship added to ship, and store added to store, without reference to the length of life, or the capacity of enjoyment; as if time were our eternity, the world our heaven, and mammon our god. Rise! is the national watchword; and elevation is synonymous with felicity. In the eager reaching forth to that which is before, the past is forgotten, and the present disregarded. Precursors are envied; rivals circumvented; and friends and kindred outstripped, abandoned.

Connected with this thirst for improvement of personal condition, and springing from the same cause, *the possession of the power to change*, is an absorbing interest in political affairs. The principle of the sovereignty of the people has brought into being a nation of sovereigns, who, from the palace to the hovel, from the senate-chamber to the workshop, feel that the government of the nation rests upon their shoulders. “Myself and the state” engross

the whole thought and feeling; and "God and my neighbor" are left to nations less enlightened and free!

Shall we say, then, to the preacher of the gospel, "Your own 'Ephraim is joined to idols; let him alone?'" Shall we say to him: Go seek a more hopeful people, in other parts of Christendom? a more congenial soil for the seed of righteousness, in some foreign clime? Shall we say to him: Abandon the fevered inhabitants of this young republic, for the soberer population of older nations? Cross, then, the Atlantic. Lift up your voice among the nations of Europe. Enter "the cities whose antiquity is of ancient days; whose merchants are princes; whose traffickers are the honorable of the earth." Invite the British merchant to purchase your goodly pearls; the capitalist to buy your "gold tried in the fire." Call the attention of titled beauty, arrayed with its "precious stones and pearls, fine linen and purple, silk and scarlet," to the white raiment of a Saviour's righteousness. Pass over, and bid the savans of France a welcome to the wisdom which is from above; and her pleasure-loving people, to the "peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." Point the Switzer, as he feeds his flock amid the crags of the Alps, and plants his scanty seed beneath the beetling ice-cliff, to "the better land." Tell the Russian noble the blessings of becoming Christ's servant; and the Russian serf, that the Son of God offers him freedom. Bid the Italian lazaroni to the gospel feast; and entreat the haughty Spaniard to learn of him who was meek and lowly. Tell the heirs of royalty to cast their crowns before the King of kings; and invite their marshalled legions to enlist under "the Captain of salvation."

And is your enterprise more hopeful there? no discouragements to contend with? no obstacles to surmount? Alas! although, by changing your hemisphere, you find yourself away from the feverish spirit of your own young land, and surrounded by men so greatly differing in language, manners, and habits of thought and feeling, you yet find they were born, and are living, no nearer heaven, while unrenewed, than those you left at home. If the eye is not directed, with engrossing expectation, to the future, it is still bent to earth. And, more than all, you find a "*form* of godliness," bedizened with the trappings of worldly grandeur, wedded in adulterous union to the

civil power, protected by the sword, and, red with the blood of martyrs, frowning from her hoary fortress on freedom of action and of thought, and compelling the devotions of the people at her own regally-appointed altar.

Leaving the pale of Christendom, the diversities of character multiply before you; but the habits, manners and institutions by which the nations are distinguished, appear like so many bulwarks of defence against the approach of the gospel. Yonder, where the tidings of peace were once published by the lips of apostles, sits, in dreamy indolence, the turbaned worshiper of Mohammed, holding, indeed, the cardinal truth of the divine unity, but "strong in faith" of the absurdities of the Koran, and looking for an eternity of sensual delight to succeed a life of sensual indulgence. Seated amid the ruins of art, industry and enterprise, he fancies himself the predestined heir of paradise, and the appointed lord and tyrant of earth. With his wives in his harem, and his slaves around him,—with his scimitar in his hand, the spoils of ruined provinces at his feet, and the crescent waving above him, in token of his expectation that the religion of the Koran is to become the religion of the world,—how faint the hope appears, that the gospel which teaches to "deny ungodliness, and worldly lusts," and look for "a heaven wherein dwelleth righteousness," will ever bring him a humble disciple to the Saviour's feet!

Passing on to regions more remote, still new diversities appear. In the dim distance of the East, the Chinese empire, with its minor peculiarities of tribe and clan, presents a character so broadly diverse from all we have yet seen, that if its distinction from the rest of mankind were elevation above them, it might well be called "the celestial." A population sufficiently numerous, of itself, to people a globe; with a pride of antiquity which looks on all other nations as in a comparative infancy; whose arts and manners, having, in their own estimation, been perfected for hundreds of centuries, have been stereotyped, that they may admit of no change; a people with a language so different from the other languages of the earth, that it seems to have been devised rather to defy than invite intercourse with the rest of mankind.

Turning the eye from China to Japan, and the nations of Southern Asia, diversity still increases as the view

extends. The nations of the Indies are emphatically nations of worshipers; every valley, and mountain, and river side, is studded with temples. Shall we pass by, and behold their devotions? Shall we listen to the confession of their faith? Shall we follow them home, and observe their practice? Their god is gilded marble; their sacrifice, a child's or a parent's blood! their faith, a doomed inhabitation of some brute or reptile; and their hope, annihilation! their practice, devoutly licentious,—habitually dishonest,—religiously cruel. Before we bring them under the power of the gospel, we must learn to speak in languages which bear no affinity to our own, and to impart the knowledge of the "true God and eternal life," of Christ and his ordinances, to people all whose religious terms are associated with the polluting ceremonies of idolatry. We must deliver woman from slavery; break the fetters of caste; dissolve the spell of the Brahmin. We must arouse the Hindoo from the torpor of tropical indolence; draw the Karen from the worship of devils; and, alas! make the Japanese forget the name of Christian.

And what do we behold in Africa? Tribes, not only without God, but too degraded and ignorant even for a systematic idolatry; whose spirit within them is sunk too low even for the ferocity of the savage; and from whose very forms the lineaments of humanity seem vanishing.

In short, the diversity existing among the inhabitants of the earth is all but endless; and we do not wonder that those, who confine their attention to the surface of things, should regard the project of bringing them all under a common influence,—of leading them all to the knowledge, and love, and obedience, of the same God; to trust in the same Lord, embrace the same faith, and submit to the same baptism; to love each other as brethren, and to look for a common salvation,—as wild and chimerical.

Yet, amid all this variety, there is a common nature. They are the offspring of the same Creator, who "hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on the face of all the earth;" and, in all their wanderings, in all their changes of civilized or savage life, the attributes which gave to man his rank,—which made him what he was, in the scale of being, when the first parent beheld, in his first-born child, his own likeness,—still

remain. The laconic speech of the savage, when, stained with the blood of a treacherous and exterminating war, he was led, a prisoner, into the presence of the President of the United States, was as true as it was lofty : “*I am a man, and you are another!*” Yes, the Indian, though he contends with the wolf for his meat, and slakes his thirst with the blood of his foe, is a MAN! and the most refined and enlightened chief of the mightiest nation on earth is nothing more. Nothing has been more common, in all ages, than for men to misjudge each other. Every nation and tribe, while sufficiently ready to accredit itself with whatever is ornamental in human nature, has evinced a proneness to deny its existence in others; and especially in those with whom it has either never come into contact, or only in a way of collision. It was this propensity which, among the ancient inhabitants of Italy, peopled the island of Sicily with a race of Cyclops; and which, in more recent times, in the people of England, branded the French as “*natural enemies.*” A better acquaintance with his neighbor, however, convinced the Italian that the Sicilian had the same number of eyes with himself; and has shown the Briton that a Frenchman can love.

The distinguishing character of man, as he is connected with this world, is, that he possesses a rational and moral nature. And, however modified his existence may be by civilization or the want of it, by knowledge or the want of it, by religion or the want of it, he possesses the attributes which belong to his nature: attention, memory, reflection, comparison, abstraction, generalization; a perception of beauty and fitness; a consciousness of difference between right and wrong; the power of indefinite improvement; and the capacity for joy and sorrow, hope and fear, gratitude and love. And as these are constituent elements of his nature, *as man*, they belong to all, however imperfect their development, however stinted their growth, however feeble their action.

With respect to his intellectual faculties, however, our topic does not lead us to speak. It is indeed the possession of these, stamped with the seal of immortality, that renders him worthy the effort which Christianity makes for his renovation. It is in virtue of these, that the gospel is applicable to him. But we speak of his moral faculties,

—we speak of the affections of the heart; and we affirm, that these affections exist in all men, and that no barbarism, no tyranny, no superstition, has been able to obliterate them. However chilled and torpid, there is life; and Christian benevolence can wake it.

Permit us to relieve your attention with the recital of some of the proofs which have been furnished of the truth of this position. You are acquainted with the story of William Penn, and the early settlement of Pennsylvania. While our Puritan fathers in New England thought it necessary to guard their homes with fortress and firelock against surprise by tomahawk and scalping-knife, he, attentive to the representations of his Bible, presumed the existence of a human heart beneath a savage exterior, and threw himself, unarmed, with all the destinies of his colony, into their midst. He went amongst them personally, and mingled freely with them. He ate with them of their parched corn and hominy. He walked with them, and sat with them on the ground, and smoked their pipe of peace; and so affected were they by the spirit of kindness they saw in him, that the stern warriors literally leaped, like children, with the emotions of delight. He entered into treaty with them for the purchase of a part of their lands, and a joint possession of the remainder. On the day appointed, an innumerable multitude of the Indians were seen, with their dark visages and brandished arms, moving in vast swarms in the depth of the woods which then covered the site of Philadelphia, towards the bank of the Delaware, to the shade of a prodigious elm-tree, the appointed place of rendezvous. On the other hand, William Penn, with a moderate attendance of friends, unarmed, without banners, mace or guard, having in his hand a roll of parchment, on which was engrossed the confirmation of the treaty of purchase and amity, advanced to meet them. As soon as he drew near the spot where the Sachems were assembled, the whole multitude of the Indians threw down their weapons, and seated themselves on the ground in groups, each under his own chieftain; and the presiding chief intimated to William Penn that the nations were ready to hear him. He began: "The Great Spirit, who made us and you, who rules the heavens and the earth, and who knows the inmost thoughts of man, knows that I and my friends

have a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with you, and to serve you to the utmost of our power. It is not our custom to use hostile weapons against our fellow-creatures, for which reason we have come unarmed. Our object is not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good. We are met on the broad pathway of good faith and good-will, so that no advantage is to be taken on either side; but all is to be openness, brotherhood and love. We will not call you children, or brothers only; for, often, parents are apt to whip their children too severely; and brothers sometimes will differ. Neither will I compare the friendship between myself and you to a chain; for the rain may sometimes rust it, or a tree may fall and break it. But I shall consider you as the same flesh and blood with the Christians."

He then presented the parchment to the chief Sachem, and desired him and the other Sachems to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might know what had passed between them, just as if he should remain to repeat it. The Indians, in return for these proofs of confidence, justice and kindness, pledged themselves to live in love with William Penn, and his children, so long as the sun and moon should endure. And, for more than seventy years,—so long as the just and humane policy of the founder controlled the colony,—they never violated their pledge.*

Depravity has probably never done more to blot out from a people every thing human, than it has done in the inhabitants of New Zealand. War, from time immemo-
rial, has been their work, their pastime; and when a motive of revenge was wanting, cannibalism,—a hunger and thirst for human flesh and blood, that most inhuman of all inhumanities,—impelled them to the destruction of each other. And, so inveterate was the habit of murder, that the sight of blood, or the possession of an implement of death, awakened, as in the tiger, the thirst to kill and devour. From such a race, pity herself might have turned away in disgust, and faith in the possibility of renovation, given place to despair.

* Edinburgh Review of Clarkson's Life of William Penn, Vol. 21,
pp. 458—460.

Yet, even there, the mother weeps over the grave of her offspring; even there, childhood has its heart of love and glee; even there, the ties of kindred bind hearts together in sympathy, and long-severed friends rush into each others' arms and weep for joy. And even there, the stranger and foreigner, who could show that he had a heart to love and trust them, and who went among them on an errand of peace, has slept in safety in the midst of their war-camps.

A destructive war, which had begun in the capture and burning of a British ship and the murder of her crew, had been carried on for many years between the people of the Bay of Islands and those of Whangaroa, when Mr. Marsden, who had just arrived on the island, but of whose kind feeling towards them they had had evidence through one of the chiefs who had known him in New South Wales, determined to interpose his endeavors for the restoration of peace. He accordingly visited their camps, introduced the subject of putting an end to all hostilities, and had the satisfaction to hear them declare that they were ready for peace, and wished to fight no more. Having been so kindly received, and so successful in the object of his mission, he determined to pass the night among them. He took his evening meal in the camp of the one party, and went to spend the night in the camp of the other. He sat down among the chiefs, and their people, and waited the approach of the hour for sleep.

"As the evening advanced," he observes, "the people began to retire to rest in different groups. About eleven o'clock, Mr. Nicholas and I wrapped ourselves up in our great coats, and prepared for rest also. The chief directed me to lie by his side. The night was clear, and the stars shone bright, and the sea in our front was smooth. Around us were numerous spears stuck up in the ground; and groups of natives were lying in all directions upon the grass.

"I viewed our present situation with sensations and feelings that I cannot express. Surrounded by cannibals who had massacred and devoured my countrymen, I wondered much at the mysteries of Providence, how these things could be. I did not sleep much: my mind was too seriously occupied by the present scene, and by the new and strange ideas which it naturally excited."

Well might he be filled with new and strange emotions in circumstances so peculiar and untried. But although he felt called on to acknowledge his obligation to a superintending Providence for his safety beneath the wing of the cannibal chieftain; yet he did not feel obliged to refer that safety to a supernatural interposition of it: for although, as to the ferocity of spirit and the love of blood of those around him, he might well have compared his situation to that of the prophet Daniel among the lions; he had proceeded on his adventurous experiment in the belief that there had been given to the savage, as there was to the lion of the prophet's vision, "the heart of a man."

We have referred to the degradation of Africa. Low, however, as her tribes have sunk in ignorance and wretchedness, the African has still left him a heart to feel and suffer like other men. And when Christian philanthropy shall wake to redress his wrongs, and he sees that his long night of woe is breaking before "the day-spring from on high," she will find that he has a heart to rejoice.

One of the most revolting and hopeless tribes of all that continent, was the Boschemen; a people among the barrens in the region of Zak river, in South-Eastern Africa.

Says Mr. Kicherer, whose account of them we quote from the *Origin and History of Missions*: "They have no idea of a Supreme Being: and, consequently, they practise no kind of worship. They have a superstitious reverence, however, for an insect known by the name of the *creeping leaf*; a sight of which they consider as an indication of something fortunate; and, to kill it, they suppose will bring a curse upon the perpetrator.

"They have also some notion of an evil spirit, which occasions diseases and other mischief; and, to counteract his evil purposes, a certain description of men are appointed to blow with a humming noise over the sick, for hours together.

"Their mode of life is extremely wretched and disgusting. Utter strangers to cleanliness, they never wash their flesh, but delight in smearing their bodies with the fat of animals. They form their huts by digging a hole in the ground, about three feet deep, and thatching it over with reeds; which are not, however, impervious to the rain. Here they lie close to each other, like pigs in a sty;

and they are so extremely indolent, that they will remain for days together without food, rather than take the pains to procure it. When constrained by extreme hunger, to go out in quest of provisions, they evince much dexterity in destroying the various animals with which their country abounds; but if they do not happen to procure any of these, they live upon snakes, mice, and almost any thing they can find. The men have several wives; but conjugal affection is little known, and they are total strangers to domestic happiness. They take little care of their children; and, when they correct them, they almost kill them by their severity. In fact, they will destroy their offspring on a variety of occasions, as when they are in want of food; or when an infant happens to be ill shaped; or when the father has forsaken the mother. In either of these cases, they will strangle them, or cast them away in the desert. There are even instances of parents throwing their tender offspring to the hungry lion. In general, the children cease to be the objects of maternal care as soon as they are able to crawl in the field. They go out every morning; and when they return in the evening, a little milk, or a piece of meat, and an old sheep-skin to lie on, are all they have to expect. The Boschemen frequently forsake their aged relatives, when removing from place to place for the sake of hunting. In this case, they leave the old person with a piece of meat and an ostrich egg-shell full of water. As soon as this little stock is exhausted, the poor, devoted creature must perish by hunger, or become a prey to wild beasts."

We have here a people who seem to have nothing that belongs to humanity left them; who appear to have been born "without natural affection;" and whose tender mercies are cruel.

Perhaps, of those who have perused this description, there may be some who have been accustomed to look on the missionary enterprise as the offspring of fanaticism, and who are now prepared to ask with triumph, if the spirit of missions has ever so inspired any sober man as to nerve him to make the *endeavor*, or to awaken in him the *hope*, for *their* reformation? We answer, Yes; *both*. And do you ask the result? Enough of the beginning can be told to show that God "hath fashioned their

hearts" like those of other men; enough to encourage the prayers and the efforts of Christians; but the *result* must be learned from the song in heaven.

Soon after the arrival of the missionaries at the place of their destination, on the Zak river, they were visited by a party of Boschemen who were anxious to understand the object of their settlement. At first, they feared some design against their liberty or their lives. As a proof of their mistrust, it is stated, in the "Missionary Transactions," that Mr. Kicherer the missionary, hoping to conciliate the affections of these wild men, invited a number of them to partake of a little repast which he had provided. Having cut up a large cake, he presented a piece to each of them; but not an individual ventured to taste it. Suspecting that they were apprehensive of poison, he took of it himself, and ate before them. He then stated that he had called them together to assure them of his friendship, and to inform them that there was a Saviour, called the bread of life, of whom Hottentots as well as others might freely partake. Their suspicions were removed, and the missionary's token of love was received by every individual, with evident satisfaction. From this time, the number of Boschemen who visited the missionaries increased; and they proceeded with their work of explaining to those perishing creatures the grace of the Lord Jesus.

When they were first told of a God, and of the resurrection of the dead, they knew not how to express their astonishment in terms sufficiently strong, that they should have remained such a length of time without one idea of the Creator and Preserver of all things. Some of the people now began to pray, with apparent earnestness, and with the most affecting simplicity. "O Lord Jesus Christ," they would say, "thou hast made the sun, the moon, the hills, the rivers, and the bushes; therefore thou hast the power of changing my heart. O be pleased to make it entirely new!"

Some of them said, that the sorrow which they felt on account of their sins prevented them from sleeping, and constrained them to rise and pour out their souls in supplication before the Lord; and they declared, that even in their hunting expeditions, they sometimes felt an

irresistible impulse to prostrate themselves before the throne of grace, and to pray for a renewed heart.*

We have spoken of the obstacles which a systematic idolatry has thrown in the way of the gospel, in the East. We readily grant they are many and powerful. Not only are the basest passions bribed into a support of their religions, by being fed with the sacrifices of their devotion, but a darkened judgment and a bewildered conscience take part against us. But, after all, are the theoretical and systematic idolatries of Asia more powerful than were those of Europe? Is Siva a greater god than Mars? Is Bramha mightier than Jupiter? If sensuality makes part of the service of the Asiatic altar, let it be remembered that Venus was often the deity of the European temple. If the theory and system of error have woven the web of thought for the Asiatic, and converted his language into a veil to shut out the light, let it be remembered that such was the magic influence of the idolatry of Greece, that it maintained its empire over the reason and conscience, when civilization and science had shed their broadest beams over her land, and had made the Grecian mind a prodigy of intellectual power. When the apostle proclaimed in her cities the truth of "The unknown God," he found their inhabitants sufficiently ready, indeed, to hear; but they were seeking a new philosophy. He told them of him who is omnipresent and unchangeable,—the "One who inhabiteth eternity;" but they thought of Fate. He told them of heaven; but their imagination wandered among the heroes of Elysium. He told them of prophecy; but they were thinking of auguries. He told them of the divinity of Jesus; and he found them preparing for him a place in the Pantheon! But, when he told them of the resurrection of the dead, he announced a truth which had no counterpart in their mythology, and which, therefore, they could not misunderstand. But it accorded neither with their religion nor their philosophy, and they turned away in scorn. Yet the gospel triumphed in Greece. Truth triumphed over error,—holiness over sin. The altars of Venus were forsaken; Mars ceased to be invoked on the field of battle; and Jupiter fell from

* Smith and Choules's *Orig. and Hist. Miss.*, Vol. I, p. 420.

heaven. Christ *was* enthroned in the Pantheon; but he reigned **ALONE!**

We are aware it may be said, that the miraculous gifts, with which the first preachers of the gospel were endowed, gave to Christianity, in its origin, an advantage which it does not now possess. So far as the facility of a rapid diffusion of the truth, an exemption from error in its statement, and a conviction of the attendance of an extra-human power are concerned, the observation is true. But let it be remembered that among idolaters the power of performing miracles was misunderstood. The healing of a cripple at Lystra was readily referred to superhuman agency. But notwithstanding the people had just been listening to the gospel from the lips of an apostle, "when they saw what Paul had done, they lifted up their voices, saying, in the speech of Lycaonia, The gods are come down to us, in the likeness of men. And they called Barnabas, Jupiter; and Paul, Mercurius." And, with the most earnest remonstrances, and the most solemn protestations of the apostles, that they were men of like passions with themselves, "they scarce restrained the people that they had not done sacrifice unto them."

The evidence of miracles was adapted to work conviction on the minds of the Jews, who were providentially scattered through the nations of the Gentiles; and whose conversion, in most instances, laid the foundation of the churches. But the Gentiles themselves had first to be taught, before even a miracle could convince them that the God of the Christian was superior to their own. "The Jews required a sign, and the Greeks sought after wisdom;" and the demand was more literally met than many are apt to suppose; for, while the preaching of Christ crucified became the power of God unto salvation alike to both, *by believing*, the faith of the Gentile came rather by *hearing* the word of God than by a *sight* of his power.

Christianity, then, has still the same powers for conflict, essentially, with "the vanities of the Gentiles," which it ever had; and, what it did in Europe, it can do in Asia. The records of missionary labor abundantly show that it has the same nature to work on there, which it had in Greece and Italy, in Gaul and Britain. Deep debasement there is: ignorance and indolence, pride, pollution, and cruelty. But though idolatry has held its reign of terror

over the conscience, and its reign of darkness over the understanding, for almost forty centuries, it has not yet been able to crush out from its victims the life of the heart. Humanity suffers and bleeds at every pore: but she has not expired. Faint and bewildered as she is, she can yet recognize the look of kindness; and feel the reviving touch of tenderness and mercy: and whenever she has beheld Christianity in her own pure robe approaching, and could see the signet of "peace and good-will" on her brow, and the oil and wine of the good Samaritan in her hand, she has hailed her deliverer welcome. The genuine spirit of Christianity, exemplified in the piety and zeal of Xavier, won the listening ear of thousands, on the coast of Cormorin, in Ceylon, in Cochin, the Molucca islands, and Japan, to the voice of instruction; and the mere semblance of it, in the intriguing later Jesuits, conquered the monarch of the Chinese empire. Those fruits of the Christian spirit,—integrity and love of man,—never drew from the hearts of any people in Christendom a richer tribute of affection and confidence than, in the person of Swartz, they drew from the idolaters of the coast of Coromandel. Such was the high and universal estimation in which that man of God was held, that a military officer assures us that the knowledge and integrity of this irreproachable missionary retrieved the character of Europeans from the imputation of general depravity. And even Hyder Ali, though a fierce Mohammedan usurper, while negotiating a treaty, was heard to say, "Send me Swartz; send me the Christian missionary; for him only can I trust!"

The effect of these virtues manifested in the lives of our own missionaries, upon the people and the authorities of Burmah, is too familiar to your minds to require more than allusion here. The graves of a Boardman and of a Mrs. Judson are often bedewed with the tears of affection from eyes which have not yet learned to follow them up to their rest in heaven.

But sufficient has perhaps been said of Pagan nations. Our range of observation will not be fully retraced, however, till we have sought the existence of the same moral elements amid the apostasies which have usurped the seat of primitive Christianity. When we read the book of the Koran, which contains the faith of the Mohammedan;

and then turn to the book of history which has recorded his practice, and see how emphatically the religion of the Turk, the Persian and the Arab is a religion of sensuality and blood; and then turn to the Apocalypse, and read the prophetic description of that apostasy as covering the earth with an army of locusts from the bottomless pit, with tails of scorpions, and lions' teeth, *appointed to devour*; we confess we could almost forgive the Christian missionary, if his courage proved unequal to the work of calling them to repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

But the labors of the devoted Martyn, and of the equally devoted but eccentric Wolff, have shown that the Christian missionary may with safety commend the religion of his Master to Mohammedans, by precept, if he will take sufficient care to commend it by example. The proofs to this point, which are scattered through the journals of the latter, are so numerous, that we feel at a loss among them for selection. When we have given you a specimen, however, of the fearless faithfulness, combined with an open and affectionate manner, which he displayed; and then tell you that he entered into argument with Dervishes and Mullahs, with princes, and with pilgrims of the Mohammedan faith, and travelled unharmed in Egypt, in Abyssinia, in Asia Minor, in Armenia, in Persia, in Khorassaun, Toorkestaun, Bokhara, Cabool, Cashmere, and Arabia, though sometimes in peril from robbers and fanatics,—with the former of whom, strange enough to say, he found safety by an appeal to the principle of reverence, and with the latter to the principle of fear;—you will begin to suspect that if we have not accredited the nations of the crescent with too much of what belongs to the scorpion-locust, we have accorded to them too little of what belongs to man.

The Khans of Khorassaun are hereditary chieftains, nominally subject to the Schah of Persia; governing each his own territory, and having the power of life and death over their subjects, and, like the ancient feudal lords of Europe, often bitter enemies to their sovereign and to each other. It was in travelling through the territories of these Mohammedan chiefs, that the following scene and conversation occurred. Mr. Wolff having arrived in a desert place, was unable to induce the Mussulman, in whose company and under whose guidance he had engaged to

travel from Teheraun to Herat, to return him the money with which he had entrusted him; and was obliged to go to Burjund, a town in which no Englishman had ever been, under the government of a Khan of the name and title of Asaad Ullah Khan to whom he had a letter of introduction. The Khan took no notice of his letter. The camel-drivers who had taken him thither, having been refused a present, probably because he had none to give, reported him and his servant as having been in the service of Abbas Mirza, and as having run away with twelve thousand tomauns. Upon the strength of this representation, Mr. Wolff was sent for, after he had left the town, and overtaken by two soldiers, and brought back to the town a prisoner. "On the 29th of October," he observes, "I was called before Asaad Ullah Khan. The fort in which he resided, was filled with rough and uncultivated people of Belujestan, soldiers of Khorassaun, and Persians. Entering the dark room, I saw Asaad Ullah Khan upon the floor. Around him were seated Mohammed Resa Khan, and several Mullahs." The Mullahs are the priests of the Mohammedan faith. Asaad Ullah Khan asked him to sit down near him and Abd Resa Khan.

Asaad. What is your profession?

Mr. W. (Lifting up his Bible.) This is my profession: the proclamation of the Bible and the gospel among the Jews, and to converse with all nations about God.

Abd Resa Khan. With what kind of denominations have you conversed?

Mr. W. With Mohammedan Mullahs, at Sheeras, Is-pahan, Eriwan, Oormia, and other places; with the Jews of the Turkish and Persian empires; with Yeseedes, Guebres and Ali Ullahe.

Abd Resa Khan. Are the Guebres in the right?

Mr. W. No.

Abd Resa Khan. Now say the truth, are *we* in the right?

Mr. W. I consider those only in the right who believe in the Bible and the Gospel.

Asaad Ullah. Why do you not believe in Mohammed?

Mr. W. According to the Gospel, none can be as great as Jesus was.

Asaad Ullah Khan. Is Mohammed not predicted in your books?

Mr. W. He is predicted as the chastiser of evil-doers: in his time Christians were fallen into idolatry, and God therefore sent Mohammed to chastise them.

Mohammed Ullah Khan. Was he no prophet?

Mr. W. No.

Abd Resa Khan. Read me some parts of the Gospel. Mr. W. read and translated the fifth chapter of Matthew. "Read me some parts of the books of Moses." He read and translated the fifteenth chapter of Exodus.

They then asked him to write down what he had translated; instead of doing that he gave them Arabic Bibles, and Arabic and Persian Testaments.

He retired: and instead of being condemned as a refugee and robber; instead of suffering as an unbeliever; instead of being required to save his life by abjuring his religion; he received, four days afterwards, a request from the two Khans and the chief Mullah of the Court that he would send them a list of the prophecies respecting the coming of Christ, and the appearance of Antichrist!

But time forbids a further detail; nor is it necessary. If we find evidence, amid all the deformity and ruin which sin has effected, that it has still left what may constitute a creature, *man*,—if it has still left a consciousness of a difference between right and wrong, if it has still left the power to recognize integrity and confide in it, and if it has still left a capability of being moved and won by kindness, even in the most debased tribes of Africa, in the sensual and bloodthirsty worshipers of the Arabian impostor, in "the dark idolater" of the East, and in the unschooled savage of our own primitive wilds; it cannot be necessary to detain you with proof that the corruptions of Christianity which have pervaded Europe, have still left a basis on which a pure Christianity may be reared by missionary labor and love.

Here, then, we take our stand, and light the torch of hope; here we would kindle the fire of zeal and enterprise for the church of God. With all the diversities of civilized and barbarous and savage life, with all the gradations of intellect, with all the extremes in morals, with all the peculiarities of mental association, with all the varieties of taste and habits of life, from the palace of European refinement to the Kraal of the Hottentot, human nature is every where essentially the same. In every clime, in

every condition, it is sadly broken, defaced and polluted. In some, indeed, it appears much more so than in others; but amid its most shattered ruins we discover a capability of restoration. The elements are there; and the gospel, entering their chaos, may work a new creation of more than primitive dignity, beauty and glory.

The moral likeness of men affords encouragement to missionary labor, by allowing us *to assume* the existence of a basis for action in every class, of every clime, and *to prejudge its form and character*. So that if the work of evangelizing the world were now to be begun, if no experiment had yet tested the power of the gospel on foreign or on savage mind, yet the knowledge of the fact that God "hath fashioned their hearts alike," that they remain essentially alike amid all the changes that have passed in their condition, should inspire us with confidence of success; and the conversion of a single soul to God, from any one class whatever, should be taken as a pledge of the triumph of the gospel over the whole.

The missionary may go to the remotest clime, where nature has put on an aspect most diverse from what she wears in his native land; he may pitch his tent among those who burrow with the hyena and the jackal, whose feasts are human flesh and blood, or the vulture's tainted prey, whose gods are reptiles or devils, whose rites of worship are directed by rage, revenge and lust, and the victims of whose altars are their parents or their children,—and there singling out the most revolting object among them, he may be assured that beneath his naked leathern breast there beats a heart, where hope, and fear, and joy, and sorrow flow, and which, though choked by pollution, and chilled and frozen, it may be, by long-practised cruelties, can be made to give forth a stream of love.

The view we have taken may serve, too, to *guide* missionary effort. It shows us the existence of common characteristics in the midst of an almost endless diversity of appearances. It is no wonder that philosophy and legislation have been appalled, as they have walked around the wide circumference of human character, and beheld the variety and force of the torrents that were bursting up and sweeping over the face of human society. It is no wonder that, in the attempt to stop one and to purify another, they have had so little success. If we

were obliged to find a system of instrumentalities, and adjust them to these endless diversities, we might well despair. But God has taught us to disregard these diversities of the surface as but the accidents of human nature. He has taught us that the issues of life are out of the heart, and that the central source is the same in all. To that source, then, must the missionary advance, in simple reliance on God's own testimony concerning its nature and susceptibilities. Its existence and character he must assume; and, alike undeceived by the blandishments of polished life, and undismayed by savage ferocity, and undiscouraged by pagan blindness, he must seek access to the heart. And, if he bears an open breast that shows his own glowing with the desire of peace on earth, and with good-will to man, he may be assured he will find it.

The knowledge most important for the successful prosecution of his work, then, after the knowledge of Christ and him crucified, is the knowledge of human nature in the deep fountain of all its action,—the *heart*. He may learn the manners, customs and habits of the people to whom he would bear the tidings of salvation; he should do so; they form the moral geography of the land into which he wishes to enter. It may serve to point out the readiest avenue to the seat of empire; and it will impress him with the great need there is of subduing and giving new law to the territory. But, if he does not study human nature in its grand, universal characteristics,—if he does not rightly understand what belongs to man, *as man*,—if he does not adventure an approach to the heart, assuming the existence, in all, not only of that which constitutes its *need*, but of that which constitutes its *susceptibility*, his knowledge will be of little avail. “*To the heart,*” then, should be his motto; to win and open the heart should be his aim. And when that citadel is thrown open to himself, he may hope for its surrender to God.

He must not, indeed, forget his dependence on the divine blessing for the success of his embassy. It has not been given to him to *change* the heart: though he may win its affection, a higher power than his must make it new. Yet let him remember, for his encouragement, that God has given the heathen to his Son for his inheritance; and that the word which he preaches is the appointed instrument for their salvation: that it has already proved

mighty through God to the pulling down of some of the strongest holds that sin has ever reared ; and that, though he may not possess the powers of an apostle, success is “not by might, nor by power” of man, but by the Spirit of the Lord. And, more than all, let him remember the promise appended to his commission : “Preach the gospel to every creature :—*Lo, I am with you !*”

We may not close without adverting to the encouragement which the view we have taken presents to those of you who anticipate a ministry among our own people. You will not fulfil your commission if you preach to those only whose characters have been formed under the influence of early religious culture ; and who come to listen to you, within the walls of your churches. Thousands and tens of thousands of our people have forsaken the sanctuary ; have broken through the restraints of the Sabbath ; and stand before you with the forbidding aspect of open rejecters of the authority of God. They have counted the blood of Calvary as a common thing, and have trodden it under foot. The thunders of Sinai they have defied : and have laughed, and reveled, and slept beneath them all. You may be tempted, as you see them “set their mouth against the heavens,” to suppose that all your attempts for their conversion would be both useless, and perilous ; and may be ready to shrink from the only means they have left you, of bringing them into subjection to the authority of Christ,—direct personal contact. Yet fear them not, they are but men : and they are no less. Approach them : not with the air of challenge to combat ; not with a demand of deference for your office ; not with professions of saintliness ; not with menace ; but with the open, trusting heart of a friend bent on an act of kindness. Let it be manifest that you love them. Bring your own heart, warm with the pure charities of the gospel, into contact with theirs : and, though all other methods of subduing may fail, you may hope for the blessing of success on this. The prophet’s staff was laid upon the dead in vain ; and affection mourned the spirit as beyond recall : but when the man of God brought “mouth to mouth, and eye to eye, and hand to hand,” and his heart went out in prayer, the flesh grew warm with the prophet’s own vitality ; and the dead was brought to life.

ARTICLE V.

HALLAM'S INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF
EUROPE.

Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries. By HENRY HALLAM, F. R. A. S., Corresponding Member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences in the French Institute. In two volumes, pp. 416, 462. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1841.

IN Mr. Hallam we have a favorable specimen of the learning of an English scholar and gentleman of leisure. He has enjoyed the best facilities which his country offers, for attaining to literary distinction ; and with his masculine vigor of mind, sound sense and great industry, it is not surprising that he has become not only a thorough student in particular branches of knowledge, but an accomplished scholar in general literature. In this view of his merits, we believe, the suffrages of all agree. But it seems not to have been so obvious to all, that his literary character and attainments have, also, the ordinary defects which attach to English scholars of the present day. He is often quite unacquainted with what is familiar to literary men of his class on the Continent. Even in history he is perfectly at home only in what relates to his own country ; and in European literature, if we except the Italian, he has no extraordinary pre-eminence. Were we to graduate his knowledge of language and literature on a scale suggested by the evidence furnished in this work, we should begin with the English and Italian, and descend through the French, Latin, Greek and Spanish, till we come nearly to zero in the German. In civil and literary history, in belles-lettres, political science and morals, he is certainly entitled to high distinction, and is as well acquainted with the natural and exact sciences as can reasonably be expected of a man of his literary standing not directly devoted to them. But we believe that his knowledge of theological literature, of the history of

philosophy, of German literature and German history, and many portions of literary history falls far short of what common fame ascribes to him. And yet there are certain favorite authors, such, for example, as Grotius, Bacon, Descartes, Macchiavelli and Montaigne, whom he can follow in all their windings, and whose genius and merits he has for the most part portrayed with a masterly hand. We regret to perceive, however, that the smooth surface of impartial history is, in the work before us, so frequently broken by veins of prejudice.

We commenced reading these volumes, and taking notes, with the design of making some strictures on two or three classes of subjects treated by the author, and of compressing them, under the form of detached observations, into a brief literary notice. But before we were half way through the volumes, our notes had extended to such a compass, as to make it necessary either to abandon the design, or to occupy all the space that can be allotted to a single article. At this late period, when the leading journals on both sides of the Atlantic have fully and ably discussed the general character and merits of the work, it may be allowable in us, without repeating what has already been said, to give a kind of supplementary article, designed more particularly to point out some of its faults and errors. We wish to be considered as concurring in the favorable opinions which others have with much unanimity expressed, except in so far as they shall be modified by our own particular statements.

It will at once appear strange to many, that a writer who had selected as the subject of a new book of no moderate pretensions that branch of knowledge in which the scholars of the most literary nation at the present time are particularly eminent, should not first of all make himself familiar with their labors. Mr. Hallam is not, it is true, wholly unacquainted with what the Germans have done in literary history; but his acquaintance extends only to a few manuals, of which a part are now out of date, and to the translations of larger works which have fallen in his way.

We cannot better illustrate the position of the author in these respects, than by allowing him to speak for himself. After mentioning the works of Morhof, Andrès (whom he unduly praises), and Eichhorn, he observes,

page 9, "These are the only works, as far as I know, which deserve the name of general histories of literature, embracing all subjects, all ages, and all nations. If there are others, they must, I conceive, be too superficial to demand attention." This preface was written at a period when, to say nothing of the older writers, as Heumann, J. Fabricius, Bouginè and others of their class, the works of L. Wachler had been thirty years before the public, and the *third edition* of his History of Literature, which has no rival, except, perhaps, the new work of Grässe had been published and known in all Europe four years. By what mode of reasoning does Mr. Hallam arrive at the conclusion that an unknown book is superficial? He certainly did not know enough of German authors to warrant the consoling inference that any work unknown to himself must be worthless.

We were unable to account for the disproportionately high estimation in which he holds Brucker's History of Philosophy, until we came to the following passage of the preface on the tenth page; "In the next age after Brucker, the great fondness of the German learned, both for historical and philosophical investigation, produced more works of this class than I know by name, and many more than I have read. The most celebrated, perhaps, is Ten-nemann; but of which I only know the abridgment, translated into French by M. Victor Cousin." Such a confession, for the justness of which we will be vouchers, is almost enough to make a *scholar* lay down the book at the end of the preface. He observes furthermore: "But I am sensible that in the great multiplicity of books of this kind, and especially in their prodigious increase on the continent of late years, many have been overlooked, from which I might have improved these volumes." It would seem from this, that the author could not keep up with the world even on European literature, the subject of his own book. Why, then, should he write? If the failure extended only to those works which were published but little before his own, and to those numerous compilations which have little or no critical value, there would be no just cause of complaint. But the truth is, the author is thoroughly acquainted with no period of German literature, and, with a few slight exceptions, is a stranger to all the elaborate productions which it has been sending forth

for the last thirty years. The attention which ought to have been bestowed upon these, has been given to old Italian and French authors, and the literature of Europe is surveyed chiefly from their point of view.

But we will proceed to the contents of the work itself. The first chapter gives an account of the state of literature in the Middle Ages; and the general views here presented respecting that period appear to us very just. Still there are several obvious errors in detail. The observation on page 26, namely, that hostility to secular learning "was inculcated in the most extravagant degree by Gregory I," is made with too much confidence. There was a time when great prejudice against ecclesiastics prevailed, and when history was construed, even by very learned men, in a manner most unfavorable to their character; and we regret to see that our author either shares in this prejudice, or is misled by those who wrote under its influence. Certainly none of the men who have assailed the character of Gregory I, have studied it, or his writings, with so much care as the great ecclesiastical historian of that period,* and he gives a different representation, and is followed in this by one of the most accomplished writers of the day on the history of classical literature.†

When Mr. Hallam affirms that "it is not unjust to claim for these [the British] islands the honor of having first withstood the dominant ignorance," though this view is very generally entertained, his language evidently needs to be modified. He furthermore says, page 27, that the Irish monasteries, in which the light of learning shone earlier than in England, "did not contribute much to the advance of secular, and especially of grammatical learning. This is rather due to England, and to the happy influence of Theodore, our first primate, an Asiatic Greek by birth, sent hither by the pope in 668, through whom and his companion Adrian, some knowledge of the Latin and even Greek languages was propagated in the Anglo-Saxon church." But whence were these teachers? How should England borrow light from a nation in greater darkness than herself? We are, therefore, compelled to follow another mediaeval historian, a greater than Hallam in his

* Neander's *Kirkengeschichte*, Band III, 209, and *Denkwürdigkeiten*, III, l. 132.
† Bähr's *Geschichte der Röm. Literatur*, II. 439.

knowledge of this period of history. "Benevento and Monte Cassino," says Prof. Leo, "must be regarded as the chief points of literary influence for a long period at the commencement of the Middle Ages. Africa, Greece, and the western or Germanic world here came in contact; and from this union of distinguished men from different countries there went forth a mightier intellectual influence than from any other place... In the seventh century an African, the Abbot Adrian, is mentioned as a distinguished teacher. He was drawn to the south of Italy by the influence of bishop Theodore, a Greek of Tarsus. Here he established schools, and promoted the study of the Greek language. The minds of the people must have been very susceptible for learning, for in a time of the greatest disquiet, this literary taste survived and passed from the vanquished Romans to their Lombard conquerors. In the ninth century, thirty-two learned men, or philosophers, as they were called, are mentioned in Benevento alone, a distance to which the efforts of Charlemagne in behalf of schools cannot have reached."* This alone will account for the fact that Charlemagne, in his attempt to establish schools, went first to Italy for teachers, and that Alcuin of England was known to him later than Paulus Diaconus, and Peter of Pisa.

It is not quite accurate to say that "the praise of having originally established schools belongs to some bishops and abbots of the sixth century." St. Martin, in whose cloister-school in Tours there were, according to his biographer, eighty scholars, died in 410. Consequently the origin of his efforts must be traced to the third century. Besides, the council of Vaison in France, held in 529, decided that presbyters and bishops should receive into their own houses young persons, and train them up for the ministry "according to the custom *which prevails in all Italy.*" Hence these schools, already so universal in Italy, must have originated, at latest, in the fifth century.

In tracing the history of the decline of the Latin language and of the origin of the modern languages that have sprung out of it, Mr. Hallam has shown considerable diligence in research. Still, there are frequent signs of a want of completeness in his investigations. He seems not

* Leo, *Geschichte der italienischen Staaten*, Vol. II, p. 21.

to be aware that the German was the prevailing language of the Carlovingian dynasty throughout its whole history, a very material point, and one that was not without its influence in the formation and structure of the early language of France. When he decides, as he does on p. 36, that the early French was "unquestionably nothing else than a corruption of Latin," and adds that "the Celtic or Teutonic words that entered into it were by no means numerous, and *did not influence its structure*," he falls into the error of exaggeration, if not of false statement. The history of the language shows, as the history of the people speaking it would lead us to suppose, that a broad distinction is to be made between that class of foreign words which were infused into the French during the process of its early formation, as in the time of the Carlovingians, and those that were afterwards incidentally employed as all nations are accustomed to employ words borrowed from a bordering nation. Mr. Hallam's error consists in assigning all words foreign to the Latin language as belonging to this latter class in respect to the French, or filial language. But those changes of structure which the Latin underwent in its resolution into French, and which our author ascribes to the ignorance of the people in regard to correct Latin, correspond to the structure of the Teutonic dialects, particularly as it respects auxiliary verbs and prepositions as substitutes for the terminations of the cases of nouns. This being the fact, and these changes, moreover, having taken place not far from the time that the Gauls were under Teutonic masters, how can a Teutonic influence on the language be denied?

The view presented as to the time that the Latin ceased to be the language of intercourse is not so false as it is defective. The author's data are too few and too uncertain. The Latin, according to Wachsmuth, who has devoted special attention to this subject, ceased to be the prevailing spoken language about A. D. 600, and yet, according to other authorities, particularly Wachler, it continued to be in use to some little extent until the ninth century. All critics agree that the early popular dialect which succeeded the Latin in France was slowly and gradually formed between 500 and 700. The general result to which the latest investigations have led, and which differ in some respects from the view given by Hallam, are well stated by Grässe

in his new unfinished General History of Literature. "In France the language of books remained the Latin till the close of the ninth century. During the next century, its place was gradually taken by the common dialect (the early French), which, as a spoken language, had been formed between 500 and 700 from a mixture of the Lingua Romana Rustica and the Teutonic idiom, which about the period from 1000 to 1100 was divided into two branches, the Provençal, or southern dialect, and the Wallonian, or northern. The modern French sprung out of the intermediate dialect spoken on the Seine."

The remark made, page 35, that "the clergy preached in Latin early in the seventh century," proves nothing in respect to the point in question, since the church employed that language long after it became unintelligible to the people, and preaching in Latin continued till about the period of the Reformation.

In the sketch which is given of the early French literature we regret that no use was made of the labors of the latest writers. The works of the Troubadours and of the Trouvères have probably received more attention for the last ten years than ever before, of which there is not the least trace in the volumes before us. The later works of Raynouard, the writings of Schlegel and Diez on the subject, and the new school sprung up in Paris since 1833, which has already effected so much in searching out and editing all the earliest remains of the language, appear to be unknown to Mr. Hallam.

We cannot speak in very high praise of what is said of the German mediaeval poetry. We meet with fresh proof of what is every where sufficiently apparent, that Mr. Hallam understands English history and literature better than German.

In regard to German prose, we find on page 47, the following statements: "The earliest German prose, a few very ancient fragments excepted, is the collection of Saxon laws, about the middle of the thirteenth century.... But these forming hardly a part of literature.... we may deem John Tauler.... to be the first German writer in prose." The author knows nothing of Berthold, whose sermons which are in every body's hands, preceded the Saxon laws, and who died twenty-one years before Tauler was born. A slight glance at the great Library of the Com-

plete Body of German Literature, coming out at Leipsic and Quedlinburg under the auspices of Basse, would suggest to our author a new train of thought in regard to the early monuments of the German language.

Chapter second is on the literature of Europe from 1400 to 1440. It is of very unequal merit, some parts of it being among the best representations we have of the subjects there treated of, others being sometimes very defective and sometimes erroneous. On the resuscitation of the study of Greek in Italy, our author has given a tolerably good sketch of what is more fully treated by Heeren and Meiners, and more symmetrically by Schöll.

Mr. Hallam, page 75, speaks of "the college or brotherhood of Deventer," as being "planned by Gerard Groot, but not built and inhabited till 1400, fifteen years after his death. The associates of this," he adds, "were dispersed in different parts of Germany and the Low Countries, but with their head college at Deventer. They bore an evident resemblance to the modern Moravians.... But they were as strikingly distinguished from them by the cultivation of knowledge.... It will be readily understood that Latin only could be taught in the period with which we are now concerned.... These schools continued to flourish till the civil wars of the Low Countries and the progress of the Reformation broke them up.... Thomas à Kempis, according to Mieners, whom Eichhorn and Heeren have followed, presided over a school at Zwoll, where Agricola, Hegius, Langius, and Dringeberg, the restorers of learning in Germany were educated. But it seems difficult to reconcile this with known dates, or with other accounts of that celebrated person's history. They are said by some to have taken regular vows, though I find a difference of authorities as to this, and to have professed celibacy.—The passages quoted by Revins, the historian of Deventer, do not quite bear out the reputation for love of literature which Eichhorn has given them." Rarely has it been our lot to fall upon a paragraph fuller of misconceptions and errors than the above. What does the author intend to intimate by saying that "the college or *brotherhood*" was "not built and *inhabited* till 1400?" Is it the association itself? Then it is not true, for Gerard drew around him several young men from the public school at Deventer, and took many of them into his own house. Florence,

one of the company, and afterwards Gerard's successor, proposed to him that the young men should put their earnings together (for they copied manuscripts), and live in common. Gerard favored the project, and it was immediately put into execution. But the author probably means, that the *building* in which they were to reside was not erected "till 1400, fifteen years after his death." Neither is this true. Florence, who had become canon at Utrecht, and vicar at Deventer, and whom Gerard appointed as his successor, had, during Gerard's lifetime, given to the fraternity his own house, and the society itself was in consequence called Florence House. Soon after Florence was made the head of the establishment, it was transferred to a larger edifice, and *after* all this, Florence himself died in the year 1400. But perhaps the event referred to is the establishment of regular canons, which constituted a subordinate part of that system, and which Mr. Hallam has confounded with the families or houses. Such an establishment was indeed in the plan of Gerard, and was not executed till after his death. But the first cloister, formed in connection with this fraternity (and yet differing from the ordinary houses or families), was established two years after Gerard's death, by Florence and other men of wealth, long before 1400; and, besides, it was located, not at Deventer, but at Windesheim. Another was soon established at Zwoll.

Thomas à Kempis was born in 1380. At the age of thirteen, he became a student at Deventer, and seven years from that time he entered the cloister at Zwoll, and, after belonging to it seventy-one years, he died as sub-prior in 1471, in his ninety-second year. Agricola was born in 1442, and was sent to Zwoll, where he studied under Thomas à Kempis, and went thence to the university of Louvain, and from that place to Italy, certainly not later than 1472, only one year after the death of Thomas à Kempis. Hegius was the teacher of Erasmus at Deventer, in 1482, and consequently could have been a pupil of à Kempis. Lange went to Italy, with Spiegelberg, before 1471. The time of Dringenberg's birth is unknown; it is only known that he was an associate of the abovementioned scholars. Thus it will be seen, at once, that there is no difficulty in reconciling Meiner's, Eichhorn's and Heeren's accounts "with other known

dates." Mr. Hallam was evidently misled by apocryphal accounts. As to this fraternity's taking regular vows, there can be no doubt; for though a part of them lived in convents, they were without vows, and were at liberty to retire at pleasure, as is not only maintained by the best writers, but was expressly declared by one of their own number, by Gerard Zerbolt, in defending the system against the monks. This whole subject is presented in a clear historical light by Ullmann, in an appendix to his life of Wessel, as also, though with less completeness, by Schwarz, in his History of Education, and, we may add, by Heeren, whom Hallam cannot, certainly, have consulted with any degree of care.

It is a poor piece of historical information which the writer gives, when he says, page 78, that the writings of the Grecian medical writers "were translated into Arabic; whether correctly or not, has been disputed among Oriental scholars." Does any one dispute that Honain Ebn Ishak, the translator of Hippocrates, Galen, Ptolemy, Aristotle and others, was a perfect master both of Greek and of Arabic; and that his versions are faithful? Does any one pretend, on the contrary, that the later hireling translators, who were ignorant of Greek, and who used only Syriac and Hebrew versions made by the Nestorians, were correct? Suppose the question were raised, whether the Greek authors are correctly translated by the English; no important decision could be made without distinguishing different translators. Pope's Homer and Spelman's *Anabasis of Xenophon* would not belong to the same category. That the theories of the Greek physicians were modified by the Arabians in the most flourishing period of their medical schools, is not owing, as Hallam supposes, to ignorance of the Greek language, but to philosophical and political considerations. Mr. Hallam regards it as questionable, whether Galen's knowledge of anatomy was founded exclusively on the dissection of apes, or whether he dissected human bodies also. Sprengel shows that he dissected only those and similar animals, but that he himself regarded it as a fortunate occurrence, that he saw in his travels two human carcasses and could examine their skeletons. Our author furthermore says: "Though some have treated Mundinus as a mere copier of Galen, he has much, according to Portal, of his own."

Here, again, the facts harmonize better with themselves than with the author's notions. Mundinus ascertained several new *facts* by his dissections of the human body, but he was still held in the trammels of Galen's *theory*. A more philosophic mind would have made use of those facts by induction, instead of which he remained, in this respect, "a mere copier of Galen." Of the remainder of this chapter, on the poetry and romance of the age, we have not the means of forming an estimate. We can only say, that to us it is exceedingly instructive and interesting.

In the third chapter, from 1440 to the close of the century, which is very inconveniently divided into periods of ten years, we find an account of the invention of printing. Though brief, it is skilfully drawn up, considering the materials which were before the author. It is very evident, that he had consulted none of the German and Dutch writers, who had within a few years instituted new investigations on the subject. Of the many new works occasioned by the centennial celebrations of the last year, the writer could, of course, have no knowledge.

We read, on page 109, "Wessel of Groningen" is "one of those who contributed most steadily towards the purification of religion, and to whom the Greek and Hebrew languages are said, but probably on no solid grounds, to have been known. . . . Alexander Hegius became, about 1475, rector of the school at Deventer. . . . Heeren says that Hegius began to preside over the school at Deventer in 1480; but I think the date above given is more probable, as Erasmus left it at the age of fourteen, and was certainly born in 1465." Mr. Hallam, perceiving that the knowledge of Greek possessed by scholars in the Middle Ages, had been exaggerated, unfortunately fell into a contrary prejudice, which led him, in many instances, to decide *a priori*, that reputed Greek scholars were in fact probably ignorant of the language. So in the case of Wessel. The evidence, which Hallam did not take the trouble to examine, is abundant and clear. Besides that the testimony of his contemporaries is positive on this point, he possessed copies of the Gospels and of Gregory of Nazianzum in Greek, borrowed Greek books of Hegius, and lent him others, and in his writings quotes the Septuagint, Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Demos-

thenes, Plutarch, Proclus, and Porphyry. Ullmann, who has exhibited all this proof, speaks also of Wessel's acquaintance with Hebrew as beyond all doubt. We were surprised to learn that Heeren had placed the date of the presidency of Hegius in the school at Deventer positively in the year 1480, and we had the curiosity to consult the original, and found that he had said no such thing. Heeren says, Hegius "*seems* to have been made rector *towards* (gegen) the year 1480; the precise year cannot be ascertained." Nor is it quite so clear, that Erasmus "was certainly born in 1465."^{*} Hegius was not rector at Deventer till after Agricola's return from Italy, which certainly was not till after 1477. Had our author made very diligent inquiry, he would have perceived that Heeren wrote, in the case before us, with his usual accuracy.

Another example of inaccuracy occurs on page 121. It is there said: "About 1482, Agricola was invited to the court of the elector palatine at Heidelberg. He *seems* not to have been engaged in public instruction." He *seems* not to have been; that is true, for his appointment did not *require* him to give public instruction, though it was undoubtedly expected by the elector that he would do so. Agricola was regarded as an honor to any university and to any court; and yet his aversion to being bound to any routine of official duty was well known. He was therefore invited to a university and court residence at Heidelberg, with liberty to employ himself as a scholar, according to his own taste. But after all, he *did* teach publicly. This he himself positively affirms. In his letter to Hegius, written at that time, he says: "No small part of my time is consumed in public teaching," (quod praelego publice.) Melancthon testifies to the same fact. "Although he was at liberty to live at his ease, yet for the sake of the young men, he publicly taught Greek and Latin in the university," (in Academia publice docuit Graece et Latine.)

Again it is said, page 122: "Reuchlin, though from some other circumstances of his life a more celebrated, was not probably so learned or so accomplished a man as Agricola; he was withdrawn from public tuition by the favor of several princes, in whose courts he filled hon-

* See A. Müller's *Leben des Erasmus*, particularly his elaborate note, page 168.

orable offices." This reasoning from probabilities to establish a fact is an unfortunate habit. Mayerhoff, in his life of Reuchlin, has given a different view, taken not at random, but after a careful and critical study of his works, and those of his contemporaries. "Agricola," says he, "was inferior in comprehensive learning both to Reuchlin and Celtes." Though Reuchlin was a statesman, he not only prosecuted his classical and other studies, but "was accustomed," says Mayerhoff, "to teach constantly in every place where he took up his residence."

Similar errors occur on page 132. "No book connected with it [the Greek language], is recorded to have been printed, and I do not find mention that it was taught, even superficially, in any university or school, at this time [i. e. 1491-1500], though it might be conjectured without improbability. Reuchlin had now devoted his whole thoughts to cabalistic philosophy and the study of Hebrew." It is expressly said of Reuchlin, that he taught Greek after his return from Italy, in 1499. The best evidence that he had not "devoted his whole thoughts to cabalistic philosophy and the study of Hebrew," is found in the fact that he afterwards translated from the Greek a work of Hippocrates, the Life of Constantine, two works of Athanasius, and edited Xenophon's Defence of Socrates, Agesilaus and Hiero, and some orations of Demosthenes. Besides, it was precisely in this period, 1498, that the Greek professorship, the first in Germany, was established in Heidelberg, and Reuchlin's brother was made professor. It was at this time, too, that Pirkhermer returned from Italy, having so thoroughly learned the Greek as to be able to speak it; to say nothing of Simler, the teacher of Melancthon, Caesarius, Trebel, Herman von Busche, Rhagius and Celtes, all of whom were Greek scholars, and were at this time variously engaged in promoting Greek literature.

With nothing have we felt more entirely dissatisfied than with the author's account of Luther and the German Reformation. That the celebrated theses of Luther were made public October 31, 1517, not in November, as Hallam says, is a trifle. But when he says: "In maintaining salvation to depend on faith as a single condition, he not only denied the importance, in a religious sense, of a virtuous life," &c., he shows, indeed, a knowledge of some of

the language of the Reformer, but a miserable conception of his theological system. It is true, Luther held rigidly to the doctrine of justification by faith, not by works; but it is equally true that he planted himself as firmly against the Antinomian abuse of this doctrine. No one, who has read his Six Disputations against Agricola on this very point, can fairly impute to him what Hallam has done. He strictly maintains there the obligation to keep the moral law, and declares it a perversion of his doctrine, to preach grace and omit the law. That our author abhors all the features of Calvinism, we can easily pardon in him; but that he should judge this system on Pelagian principles, and then hold up Luther in caricature, is not so pardonable. Mr. Hallam takes the strange view, that Luther's course was governed by a single consideration, the conviction that he was fighting the battle of God. This undoubtedly was the highest motive; but the historian, in making it the exclusive ground of action, denies, in the very face of evidence to be found on almost every page of Luther's works, that the latter, "struck by the absurdity of the prevailing superstitions, was desirous of introducing a more rational system of religion; or that he contended for freedom of inquiry; . . . that his zeal for learning and ancient philosophy led him to attack the ignorance of the monks." He might well deny that either of these was the ruling motive, or that they prevailed so much as has often been maintained; but it is scarcely credible, that a man of Hallam's sense should allow his prejudices such sway over his judgment as to call these "mere fallacious refinements." We hardly know what comment to make upon the following cavil: "The doctrines of Luther, taken altogether, are not more rational, that is, more conformable to what men, *à priori*, would expect to find in religion, than those of the church of Rome." It is no part of our design to take up the defence of Lutherism; we do not profess to admire it. Still we must protest against such a malignant thrust. The author proceeds: "Nor, again, is there any foundation for imagining that Luther was concerned for the interests of literature. None had he himself, save theological. . . . On the contrary, it is probable that both the principles of this great founder of the Reformation, and the natural tendency of so intense an application to theological controversy, checked for a

time the progress of philological and philosophical literature on this side of the Alps." It has given us no pleasure to observe that our author manifests much more sympathy with the dissolute Leo X, and with a strictly pagan literature, as Erasmus justly calls that of Italy at this time, than with those truly great and good men, who laid to heart the grave question, 'How ought *Christians* to cultivate pagan literature?' To Luther belongs the reproach, if the Christian historian will have it so, of laying broad and deep, in Germany, and in all Europe, the foundation of a Christian and biblical education. That in so doing, Luther and Melancthon did more for the perpetuity of classical learning than the court of Rome, or even the house of Medici, is evident from the comparative state of classical learning in Germany and Italy at this day. Is Mr. Hallam ignorant of what Luther did for schools and education? or does he doubt that the present condition of the literary institutions of Germany is to be attributed, in a great degree, to the direction which was given to public schools by the great Reformer?

It is difficult to read without a smile "the best authorities for the early history of the Reformation," as given in a note, page 166. What would the professors of church history say to such a view of the literature of their subject?

In mentioning the causes of the aversion of Erasmus to the Reformation, he remarks, among other things, "He had also to allege, that the fruits of the Reformation had by no means shown themselves in a more virtuous conduct," and then quotes several passages from Erasmus, written under circumstances peculiarly irritating to one of his sensitiveness, to establish the position. Does Mr. Hallam undertake to say that the Reformation did not produce "a more virtuous conduct?" That there were bad men among Protestants, and that there were many popular vices and extravagances is not denied. But the question is, 'Was there not more true piety in Germany at the time of Luther's death than at the time that he posted up his theses?' No well-informed, unprejudiced mind can doubt this. A complaint is entered against Dr. Cox for using the expression, "the learned, witty, vacillating, avaricious and artful Erasmus." He exclaims, "Why the last three epithets? Can Erasmus be shown to have

vacillated in his tenets?.... Nor was he avaricious; at least I know no proof of it: as to the epithet artful, it ill applies to a man who was perpetually involving himself by an unguarded and imprudent behaviour. I cannot refrain from saying, that no passage in the letters of Erasmus is read with so much pain as that in which Melancthon, after Luther's death, and writing to one not very friendly, says of his connection with the founder of the Reformation, *Tuli servitutem poene deformem,*" [I have endured an almost disgraceful bondage]. We complain of Mr. Hallam that great men should find such different treatment at his hands. All Luther's defects are industriously set forth and even magnified, without mention of his great virtues, and then, by way of contrast, Erasmus is presented in the most favorable light, his faults denied or palliated, and even a hypocritical pain professed at a passage from Melancthon dragged in with evident pleasure for the purpose of striking at the heart of the two Reformers at once, and of giving the palm for moral greatness to Erasmus over both. It is not our aim to assail the character of Erasmus. He is justly entitled to the niche assigned him in the temple of fame. But he is by no means entitled to that kind of superiority which Mr. Hallam has given him. There is a passage in the 871st letter of Erasmus, written after his controversy with Luther on the freedom of the will, which ought to be read with as much pain as that quoted from Melancthon. It may not, indeed, relate directly to that controversy, but it does show that Erasmus had no established principles which could make the controversy a matter of conscience. He there privately confesses that the views expressed in his Colloquies did not grow out of a firm conviction of its truth. On the contrary, he says: *Verum, ut ingenu dicam, perdidimus liberum arbitrium. Illic mihi aliud dictabat animus, aliud scribebat calamus,* "but, to speak honestly, we have lost our free-will: in that matter, I thought one thing and wrote another."*

Luther, especially in his later years, when he had long been accustomed to direct the affairs of the church, was prone to be overbearing. This natural weakness of age,

* Hallam's interpretation of this passage is as far-fetched as Seckendorf's is careless.

was doubly natural to the hero of the Reformation. On some subjects, in which he and Melancthon had formerly agreed, there was now an increasing difference of opinion, which would necessarily be the more burdensome to Melancthon, as being less conspicuous and less accustomed to speak with authority. He gave utterance to an honest feeling, not designing thereby to convey any other idea than that a domineering spirit was one of the chief defects in Luther's character. But we believe, that the passage was quoted for Luther's sake rather than Melancthon's, notwithstanding the appearances to the contrary. Admit the charge as it lies against him; does it prove that Luther was not an honest-hearted, noble-spirited champion of the church? Did Erasmus ever give such proofs of interest in the cause of religion, and of willingness to sacrifice all for the honor of Christ? Were not his motives and aims of a lower order? Did Christ occupy such a place in his affections? Did the gospel, in its spiritual essence, have such a hold on his faith? or was he a calculating worldling, who cared, indeed, for morality and religion, and did great service to both, and yet cared nearly as much for men of letters, for pontiffs, cardinals and kings, and for their sakes, more than from his own convictions, stood aloof from the Reformation, and finally consented to write against Luther. In religion, his mind was more negative than Luther's. He could resort to jest and sarcasm in assaulting vice, in the manner of Lucian, when Luther would resort to preaching and to prayer. He could mend up a rotten system, where Luther could do nothing less than remove it to give place to one that was sounder. The one sought present peace and the enjoyments of life, the other something higher and better than both. The one insisted on paying respect to bad men in power, the other on breaking down their unholy authority, and relieving the suffering flock of Christ from their crushing burdens. Erasmus pursued the course of ordinary prudence, and will therefore command respect; Luther pursued the only course of a successful reformer where revolution is indispensable. That Erasmus was in some degree vacillating in his character, and destitute of the firmness of principle which characterized Luther, is proved by his correspondence, which in not a few instances falls little short of double dealing. In his earlier writings, he called the

monasteries "schools of iniquity;" after he broke with Luther, and was endeavoring to repair his standing with the Catholics, he said "they are, in some sense, an image of the celestial city and of the chorusses of angels." The least that can be made of his language is that at one time he condemned the monastic institutions, as such, and at another, he commended them. Such instances of inconsistency are by no means rare. All the men of his age, of both parties, regarded him as "vacillating," and his writings furnish ample evidence of the fact; and we can scarcely conceive how a man who has read his writings, can have a face to ask his readers, as though they were dunces, "Can Erasmus be shown to have vacillated in his tenets?" He was not "avaricious;" but notwithstanding his liberality, he certainly did "love gifts;" and resorted to many contrivances to obtain them; and it cannot be denied, that he was "artful," though it would be more correct to say of him that he was calculating.* But it can hardly be said that "he sought a cardinal's hat;" this he certainly declined, near the close of life. To say nothing of his unmanly course in regard to Reuchlin's controversy with the monks, "we cannot refrain from saying that no passage" in the life of Erasmus contrasts more unfavorably with Luther's, than his unkind treatment of von Hutten, on the ground that "he only wanted a nest to die in," as compared with Luther's magnanimous treatment of the dying Tetzel. Thus much we have felt bound to say, not in hostility to Erasmus, whom we highly honor in spite of his faults, just as we do Luther, but in justice to the latter, at whose expense the former has, in the case before us, been unduly exalted.

It would require a volume to separate the truth and the falsehood that are mingled together in the author's representations of the Reformation. We pass over in silent grief the prejudices of a scholar who can so abuse the sacred office of historian as to attribute to "the Latin works of Luther," promiscuously, "intemperance, coarseness, inelegance, scurrility and wild paradoxes, that

* Planck, the most candid of historians, characterizes him as a "politic, prudent, calculating man, who had too little firmness, and was too much concerned about his own fame and personal comfort."—*Geschichte des protestantischen Lehrbegriffs*, I, 25.

menace the foundations of religious morality;" who can refer to Luther's work against Henry VIII, confessedly the most unfavorable of all his productions, as a specimen, and then speak of these treatises of the father of the Reformation "as little else than bellowing in bad Latin;*" who can grace every paragraph in which he speaks of this great benefactor of the church, with such expressions as "bitterly insolent," "unbounded dogmatism," "alternate gusts of dogmatism." We add the following: "The most striking effect of the first preaching of the Reformation was that it appealed to the ignorant.... There *predominated* that revolutionary spirit which loves to witness destruction for its own sake, and that intoxicated self-confidence which renders folly mischievous. Women took an active part in religious dispute; and... we cannot be surprised that many ladies might be good Protestants against the right of any to judge better than themselves." "The reform (this is put into the mouth of Catholics, but it is language which "*cannot be refuted!*") was brought about by intemperance and calumnious abuse, by outrages of an excited populace, or by the tyranny of princes." Could a Gibbon write with a more malignant spirit, or mingle and apply colors more adroitly to disfigure history? Let any intelligent reader compare this hideous picture with the candor and rigidly philosophic impartiality of Planck, Adolph Menzel, and Ranke, and he will the more deeply lament that an author, who in earlier life had earned a good reputation for coolness and historical candor, should in advanced life betray such marks of irritability and party feeling.

The following is another specimen of our author's method of reasoning out his facts *à priori*, rather than taking the trouble to inquire for the evidence. "Even the coryphaei of the Reformation are probably more quoted than read, more praised than appreciated." In other cases, Mr. Hallam is accustomed to judge in what demand an author is by the actual supply from the press.

* Did the classic historian of the Middle Ages, who so cordially hates "intemperance, coarseness and scurrility," borrow this language, written for polite ears, from Dr. Johnson, who, with equal candor, speaks of the fathers of the Revolution, as "bellowing in Pennsylvanian eloquence?"

Let us apply the rule. Beside the numerous older editions of Luther's entire works and the infinite number of republications of parts of them, there was a selection by Lommler, in three octavo volumes, printed in Germany in 1816 and 1817; another in one octavo volume, by Bretschneider, in 1817; a third by Roth, in two octavo volumes, of which a second edition appeared in 1817 and 1818; a fourth by Vent, in ten volumes, duodecimo, in 1826; the Letters, &c., of Luther, in a complete critical edition, by De Wette, in five octavo volumes, in 1825–1828; another selection by several editors, in four octavo volumes, in 1827–1831; his Latin exegetical works by Elsperger, in eight volumes, in 1829–1831; his reply to Erasmus on the Liberty of the Will, in 1837; a copious selection of entire treatises, by G. Pfizer, begun in 1837; the latest selection, by Otto von Gerlach, in twenty small volumes, commenced in 1840; and not to prolong this list, which might be greatly increased, we will mention, in conclusion, a new edition of his entire works, in sixty volumes, begun in 1826, at Erlangen, which is the sixth edition of Luther's entire works. So much in proof that Luther is "probably more quoted than read." Can such evidence be advanced to show that Erasmus is read as well as quoted in the nineteenth century? If not, what is the cause of this different estimate in the judgment of posterity?

Of Melanthon's works, a new edition (*Opera omnia*), by Detzer, was commenced at Erlangen in 1827; another new edition of his complete works is given by Bretschneider in his *Corpus Reformatorum*, commenced in 1835, and still in a course of publication at Halle; a selection in German, by Köthe, in six octavo volumes, was published in Leipsic in 1829.

A complete edition of Zuingle's works in Latin, was commenced in Zurich in 1829; another complete edition in German, in seven volumes, has been published since 1828, not to mention his select works in two volumes, in 1819 and 1820.

Judging from Mr. Hallam's premises, we should have reason to fear that the booksellers are engaged in unprofitable speculations. The truth is, he knows almost nothing about the subject; and hence the perpetual recurrence of the words "probable" and "probably," as though such matters were to be settled by a calculation of chances. It

is a great mistake, to infer from the tastes and pursuits of the English gentleman the studies of the German scholar. The following representation *may* be true, not only in its application to Englishmen generally, but to the author of the literature of the period referred to in particular: "These elder champions of a long war, especially the Romish, are with a very few exceptions, known only by their names and lives. These are they, and many more there were down to the middle of the seventeenth century, at whom, along the shelves of an ancient library, we look and pass by. Their dark and ribbed backs, their yellow leaves, their thousand folio pages, do not more repel us than the unprofitableness of their substance, . . . and it may not be invidious to surmise, that Luther and Melancthon serve little other purpose, at least in England, than to give an occasional air of erudition to a theological paragraph, or to supply its margin with a reference that few readers will verify." Such passages would appear with a good grace here, if the work bore the title 'Impressions made in Morning Visits to the British Museum.' We would not complain of the author for having a keener relish for old Italian sonnets or Spanish ballads than for the works of the Reformers, which he certainly never read, except to verify a reference, or to glance cursorily over "their yellow leaves." But what a contrast does this present to the familiarity of German scholars with every production of Luther, Melancthon, and their coadjutors, in fresh editions without any of these lugubrious images which haunted our author's mind !

We find another instance of Mr. Hallam's singular mode of criticism, page 220, in reference to Hans Sachs: "It must be presumed," he observes, "that uneducated, unread, accustomed to find his own public in his own class, so wonderful a fluency was accompanied by no polish, and only occasionally by gleams of vigor and feeling." In such a way, John Bunyan might just as well be condemned unheard. "The place of the honest and praiseworthy shoemaker," it is said again, "seems not likely to be fixed very high; and there has not been demand enough for his works, which are very scarce, to encourage their republication." Who would suppose from this representation that a selection of his works by Büsching, in six volumes, was published in 1816-1828; his *Schwänke*,

or Merry Stories by Nasser in 1827 ; and another selection by Göz, in four volumes duodecimo, in 1829 ? The estimation in which the Germans hold the productions of Hans Sachs, does not warrant the disparaging judgment, or rather conjecture, expressed above.

We have not paused to comment on the chapters which treat of Oriental literature. The reason may be found in the words of the author, page 405 : "This is a subject over which, on account of my total ignorance of Eastern languages, I am glad to hasten." It is only to be regretted, that under such circumstances, he should undertake to say any thing.

A passage on page 278 shows how little ability the author has to comprehend any system of theology except his own, if he has any. His words are : "The Calvinists, as far as their meaning [respecting the real presence] could be divined through a dense mist of nonsense, which they purposely collected, were little, if at all, less removed from the Romish and Lutheran parties than the disciples of Zwingli himself, who spoke out more perspicuously." Why should the author meddle so much with what he has neither read nor comprehended ? Who that is at all conversant with these subjects, does not know, that Calvin's views respecting the eucharist,—whether they were true or not has nothing to do with the point in hand,—did differ essentially from Zwingli's ? The insinuation, that the Calvinists acted a deceitful part, pretending that there was a difference when they knew there was none, is unworthy of the author of the *View of the Middle Ages*.

We give another curious specimen of church history. Melancthon, it is said, on the same page, "not only rejected the Antinomian exaggerations of the high Lutherans, but introduced a doctrine said to be nearly similar to that called Semi-Pelagian.... It appears to be the same, or nearly so, as that adopted by the Arminians in the next century, but was not, perhaps, maintained by any of the schoolmen; nor does it seem consonant to the decisions of the council of Trent, nor probably to the intention of those who compiled the articles of the English Church." Are we to understand by this statement, that all the schoolmen were Calvinistic (if we may use so modern a term), or that there were no Semi-Pelagians among the speculative theologians of the Middle

Ages? What then was the chief theological point of dispute between the Scotists and the Thomists? As to the decision of the council of Trent respecting the doctrine, it would not be far from the truth, to say that there was none. The infallible church was called upon to condemn the Reformation, whose fundamental principle as advocated by Luther was founded on the doctrine of her two greatest theologians, Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. Still the body of the Catholic church was then and has ever since been Semi-Pelagian; and though the council of Trent attempted to sail around this rock, the Roman pontiff has always construed the decisions of that council as Anti-Augustinian. Hence the condemnation by Pius V, of the doctrines of Baius of Louvain, and of those of the Jansenists by Urban VIII. Mr. Hallam is no friend of Calvinism. Perhaps, too, he wishes, at times, to be a very cautious historian. He, therefore, ventures only so far as to say that "probably" those who compiled the Thirty-nine Articles were not Arminians.

When it is said, page 279, that from the time of Peucer, or about 1580, "a very narrow spirit of orthodoxy prevailed for a century and a half afterwards in Lutheran theology," there is nothing perhaps, to which objection can reasonably be made. But when it is added: "In consequence of this spirit, that theology has been almost entirely neglected and contemned in the rest of Europe, and scarce any of its books are remembered by name," the author is greatly mistaken, having been misled by poor authorities on such a question. Hospinian's *Concordia Discors* was professedly a controversial work; and both Bayle and Eichhorn hated the orthodox theologians. Did the author duly consider, that in his sweeping sentence he included all the Lutheran theologians from a little after the death of Melancthon to the time of Mosheim? It is a bold declaration to say, that scarce any of the books of such theologians as Gerhard, Calixt, Quenstädt, Spener, Carpzov and Buddeus, "are remembered by name."

The representation made of the death of Servetus and of the part Calvin acted in procuring it, is in the highest degree prejudiced and dishonorable to the historian. It is, furthermore, full of inaccuracies. The principle on which Calvin acted was, indeed, a false one, and the act itself was wholly unjustifiable. Thus much all must concede. But

what truth or justice is there in representing him as persecuting in his spirit beyond the good men of his age, or as acting from the impulses of malignant passions? The punishment of heresy or of blasphemy by the severest penalties, grew necessarily out of a fundamental error in Calvin's view of the nature and design of civil government. He honestly believed that a Christian government ought to be theocratical; that human laws ought to take cognizance of offences against God, and that magistrates were under obligation to punish such offences with greater severity than offences against a fellow-creature. Thus Calvin's intention may have been honest, though his principle was in the last degree dangerous. The disgrace of holding such views, at least in regard to capital punishment for dangerous heresy and for blasphemy, and even the decision that Servetus deserved to be put to death on account of one or both of these, ought to be shared by many others with Calvin, not to be imposed on him singly. As early as 1532, Bucer declared publicly that Servetus deserved to be punished with an ignominious death. Melancthon was fully agreed with Calvin on this point. He says in a letter to him: *Tuo judicio prorsus assentior. Affirmo etiam vestros magistratus juste fecisse, quod hominem blasphemum, re ordine judicata, interfecerunt.* That is, "*I entirely concur in your decision. I also maintain that your magistrates did right in that, after proper trial, they put the blasphemer to death.*" Bullinger, Musculus, and Farel approved the sentence, not so much, however, on the ground of heresy as of blasphemy against the Trinity. The first said, in a letter of 1554, "I see not how Servetus, a paragon of heresy and judicial blindness, could have been cleared." The second in a letter to Blarer, dated Feb. 27, 1554, said: "I think that act could be defended more justly and easily on the ground of blasphemy than of heresy." Farel, in a letter to Calvin, Sept. 8, 1553, only a few days before the execution of Servetus, said: "I should consider myself a culprit worthy of death, if I made only one soul apostatize from the Christian faith. Nor can I pass a milder judgment upon others than upon myself." The Councils of Zurich, Berne and Schaffhausen, intimated their perfect agreement with that of Geneva, though this was more expressly declared in their letters than in their public decisions. It should not be forgotten nor disguised, that, as Beza says, the accusa-

tion was made *magno assensu piorum*, strange as such language may sound in our ears. Servetus himself had but little better views of religious liberty; for, to say nothing of his declaration that the bishop of Rome deserved to be punished not only with temporal, but eternal death, which many even at this day maintain as strenuously as he did, he attempted to accuse Calvin of a capital crime, and to have him put to death for heresy, which, however natural as a matter of self-defence, is still quite in the spirit of the times.

When Mr. Hallam says, "Servetus had, in some printed letters, charged Calvin with many errors, which seems to have exasperated the great reformer's temper, so as to make him resolve on what he afterwards executed," he is guilty of the greatest historical injustice. It would be strange if, in the insolent manner in which Servetus frequently wrote to Calvin, the latter did not sometimes have his irascible temper a little ruffled. It is also true, that during the personal discussions in the midst of the trial, both parties betrayed considerable warmth. But if the conduct of the two through this whole matter be honestly compared, it must be acknowledged by the greatest foe of Calvin, that his character shines with a moral greatness far beyond that of his enemy and opponent. It is not our purpose to justify all Calvin's feelings, any more than all his actions; but we affirm that all the evidence goes to show, that he acted in this case chiefly from a false principle, conscientiously held, and that, consequently, it is untrue to say, that revenge determined his action. It is furthermore said, "The death of Servetus has, perhaps, as many circumstances of aggravation as any execution for heresy that ever took place. One of these, among the most striking, is, that he was not the subject of Geneva, nor domiciled in the city, nor had the *Christianismi Restitutio* been published there, but at Vienne." Is this an honest and fair statement of the case? Did not that city demand Servetus to be delivered up, and did not Servetus request it as a favor to be tried in Geneva? Our author betrays a strange ignorance of the sources of the history of Servetus, never having seen the masterly investigations of Mosheim on the subject. A more clumsy, inaccurate and ill-tempered passage than the whole long note, pages 280 and 281, is rarely to be found. An acquaintance with

the works of Mosheim relating to this subject, with Henry's Life of Calvin, Hess's Life of Bullinger, Kirchhofer's Life of Farel and the fifth volume of Schröckh's History of the Reformation would have prevented many blunders which we will not stop here to point out. All our sympathies are on the side of Servetus, and were we called upon to take up the cause between him and Calvin, we should have occasion to show that the latter was egregiously in the wrong. No one *now* calls this in question. But is all this any reason why passion and misrepresentation should lend their aid to make his case worse than it is? It is against such a proceeding that we lift our voice of remonstrance. As Baptists, if we could not vindicate Servetus against one of the charges which were brought against him in his accusation, namely, that of rejecting and *blaspheming* the holy ordinance of infant baptism, we might palliate his guilt. Still, that is no reason why justice should not be done to the other party.

How much more candid, philosophical and just is the estimate of Calvin's character by a living distinguished Lutheran and Rationalist, than the one to be found in the work before us!*

We can hardly credit our senses, when we read, page 288, that the Magdeburg Centuries are "*still in point of truth and original research* the most considerable ecclesiastical history on the Protestant side." We are to conclude, then, that there is less "*truth and original research*" in Mosheim, Schröckh, Neander and Gieseler than in the Centuriators! Baronius is placed as much too low, as the abovementioned work is too high. But we will not delay longer on this worthless chapter, called the "History of Theological Literature in Europe from 1550 to 1600."

In the chapter on history from 1500 to 1600, page 409, the author observes: "Nor do I know any Latin historians of Germany or the Low Countries who, as writers, deserve our attention." Is, then, John Sleidan, author of the classic work on the Religious and Civil State of the Empire under Charles V, entitled to no consideration? The historical merit and literary excellence of this work will be called in question by no competent judge.

The chapter on ancient literature, with which the second volume opens, shows considerable diligence in com-

* Bretschneider in the Reformations-Almanac of 1821.

piling, but the compilation is not from the best sources, nor is the author sufficiently familiar with the present state of classical literature, or with the labors of the critics of whom he treats, to give any special pertinency or value to his observations. He certainly passes some very singular judgments on books.

It is surprising, that Mr. Hallam could for a moment suppose that Ducaeus, in his edition of Chrysostom, had copied the text of Saville. How could such a supposition be reconciled with the well-known fact, that Saville is highly prized by scholars, while Ducaeus, notwithstanding the advantage of having a good Latin translation, of which Saville is unfortunately destitute, is but little esteemed, and can be even now purchased for a trifle? What he means by the following remark, volume II, p. 16, we do not know: "Fuller says the Parisian edition followed Saville's 'in a few months,' whereas the time was two years." He says that Saville's edition was published in 1612. Now the first six volumes of Ducaeus were printed 1609-1624, and the remaining six in 1633. What, then, becomes of Mr. Hallam's reckoning?

Equally unfortunate is the representation made on page 21. "It has been said that Vossius has borrowed almost every thing in this treatise [his Aristarchus or Latin Grammar] from Sanctius and Scioppius. If this be true, we must accuse him of unfairness; for he never mentions the Minerva [the Grammar of the former, commented on by the latter]." This, if true, would be an odd *sus Minervam*; as strange as if it should be proved that Milton stole the Paradise Lost from the verses of Alcuin. Is it possible that Mr. Hallam has, as he would seem to intimate, compared the two grammars? The Minerva of Sanctius, as is known to all grammarians, owes its present celebrity entirely to its commentators, and most of all to Perezoni. Reissig comes nearest to the truth, when he says of Scioppius, that "he is a vile plunderer of Vossius."

"The Lutheran church," we are gravely told, on page 41, of this volume, "not in any symbolic book, but in the general tenets of its members, has been thought to have gone a good way towards Semi-Pelagianism, or what passed for such with the more rigid party." Has been *thought* to have gone a good way towards Semi-Pelagianism! Truly there is reason for the remark in a

note: "my practice in these nice questions is not very great."

Jeremy Taylor, it is said, page 55, is "the greatest ornament of the English pulpit up to the middle of the seventeenth century; and we have no reason to believe, or rather, much reason to disbelieve, that he had any competitor in other languages." Arndt, the contemporary of Taylor, has been called "the Fenelon of Germany," with much more justice than the latter has been called "the Shakspeare of Theology." Arndt's "True Christianity," which has been translated into eleven languages, and which has passed through more than a hundred editions, originated in the pulpit. Mr. Hallam seems not to have viewed him in the light of a preacher, but merely in that of an author. Though he was unlike the English pulpit orator, he was, nevertheless, no mean competitor.

We cannot fully concur in the taste and judgment of our author, when he censures one's pulpit eloquence by saying it "is too much in the style of Chrysostom and other declaimers of the fourth century." If Chrysostom was but a "declarer," where shall we look for the truly eloquent preacher;—to England?

The narrow range of our author's reading on the history of philosophy is every where apparent, but no where comes out with more *naïveté* than when he is speaking of Suarez, page 60. He there says; "Of his Metaphysical Disputations, I find no distinct character in Morhof or Brucker." He knows nothing of Tennemann's large work, which would have given him the necessary information, if he had consulted the ninth volume, page 505, nor of any of the host of later German writers on the subject, except Buhle.

It is a very common fault of our author, that, instead of giving a symmetrical view of a writer, which shall make a just general impression, he selects single traits, according as the fancy takes him, and hence rarely leads an uninformed reader to a true estimate of the men that pass under review. Whether it is that he did not concern himself about the importance of making right impressions on the minds of his readers, or whether his talent of representation lies more in presenting detached parts of subjects, than in exhibiting a true likeness in miniature, it is certain, that in his gallery of pictures not a few of his

portraits are caricatures. These remarks are illustrated in the case of Campanella, volume second, page 61.* The faults of that philosopher are set forth in bold relief, while his merits are passed by in entire silence. He did not, indeed, make many valuable accessions to the truths of philosophy, but he did much in pointing out the errors of the current philosophy. Campanella came before the public as a reformer of philosophy while young, and continued in that capacity more than forty years. As might be expected from an ardent young philosopher, who appeared as author at the age of twenty, his mind passed through many changes; and yet Hallam throws all these successive systems together as the constituent parts of Campanella's philosophy. He nods along with his good old Brucker, thinking nothing more can be required than to quote the words of Campanella. A little more acquaintance with the art of studying and writing the history of philosophy, as practised by the Germans from the days of Tennemann to Brandis, would have been of essential service to our author.

In speaking of Lord Herbert, vol. II, p. 67, he says; "It is remarkable that we find in another work of his the same illustration of the being of a Deity from the analogy of a watch or clock, which Paley has since employed. I believe that it occurs in an intermediate writer." It is nothing very remarkable. The idea originated with neither. The argument is stated as clearly and as fully by Cicero† as by Herbert, and the illustration is as nearly identical as the circumstances would allow. Can any

* The author is mistaken, when he says, Campanella was, "like his master Telesio, a native of Cosenza." He was a native of Stilo, in Calabria. When he became a monk, he made his novitiate at the cloister of Cosenza.

† An cum machinatione quadam moveri aliquid videmus, ut sphaeram (a sort of orrery), ut horas (an instrument for measuring time), ut alia permulta, non dubitamus quin illa opera sint rationis; cum autem impetum coeli admirabili cum celeritate moveri vertique videamus, constantissime conficiemt vicissitudines etc. dubitamus, quin ea non solum ratione fiant, sed etiam excellenti quadam divinaque ratione? De Nat. Deor. II, 38. Again, 34: "How is it that when you observe a solarium vel descriptum, aut ex aqua, a dial or a water-glass, you perceive declarari horas arte, non casu, that the hours are indicated by art, not by chance, and yet consider the world, which embraces all the arts and all artists, to be without design?"

one read the passage of Herbert, and compare it with that of Cicero, and persuade himself that the former did not copy from the latter? It is possible that the English writers fell upon this illustration by their good genius; but he, who is accustomed to trace the ideas of authors to their sources, and observe how much more productive in what is called originality tradition is than invention, will sooner believe that the seeds of thought, scattered in ancient times, have been wafted by some lucky breeze to the right place.

Mr. Hallam apologizes, vol. II, page 67, for occupying so much space with Herbert's philosophical views, and offers as one reason for so doing the following: "I know not where any account of his treatise *De Veritate* will be found." And yet for twenty years all the literary world had been familiar with an incomparably more thorough and critical account than he has furnished. It may be found in the tenth volume of Tennemann.

On page 95 of the same volume, it is said: "The fathers, with the exception, perhaps the single one, of Augustine, had taught the corporeity of the thinking substance." Far from it. Only a small number entertained this view, as Tertullian, Methodius, and others. Origen is strenuously opposed to it, and maintains that the soul is strictly immaterial (*άσωματος*); and in this he is followed by his school. Many of the fathers were believers in a *trichotomy*, as it is termed; that is, a theory which represents man as consisting of three parts, a rational spirit, an animating principle, and a body,—not altogether unlike the phrenological theory. Such were Justin Martyr, Tatian, Irenaeus, Clement, Origen, Apollinaris, Didymus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Chrysostom, all of whom regard the first of these three elements of human nature, that is, the rational soul, as *immaterial*. Even Hilarius, who taught that the soul existed only in union with the body, says expressly that the soul itself is immaterial and imperishable (*nihil in se habet corporale, nihil caducum*). Gregory of Nazianzum uniformly represents the soul as spiritual and indestructible. What confidence can we put in a writer who allows himself to hazard so many assertions upon uncertain inference, or mere conjecture?

It sometimes happens that the *words* of an author are given, where no idea whatever is attached to them. An instance occurs vol. II, page 123. The contents of a work of Suarez are thus given: "1. Whether there be any eternal law, and what is its necessity. 2. On the subject of eternal law, and on the acts it commands. 3. In what act (*actus*, not *actio*, a scholastic term, as I conceive) the eternal law exists (*existit*), and whether it be one or many." Why should the author impose such language as in the third number upon his reader, without taking the trouble to ascertain whether it had any meaning? If the work was before him, would not the chapters of the work sufficiently explain the table of contents? *Actus* is no scholastic term, "as we conceive," but is here probably (for the work is not at hand) used in its proper signification, not of a single act, but action in a more general sense, as that of the attribute of holiness, or of wisdom, or of both. We should not descend to so minute a criticism, but for the reason that it illustrates the negligent manner in which several parts of the work are got up.

But we cannot proceed farther with our strictures, though we have but just entered the second volume. Enough has been said to indicate the character, if not the degree, of the faults of the work. These, however, do not equally extend to all the subjects of which the author treats, but are limited chiefly to two or three classes. In respect to the others, the substantial merit of the book remains unquestionable.

EDITOR.

ARTICLE VI.

RANKE'S HISTORY OF THE POPES.

The Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome, during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.
By LEOPOLD RANKE, Professor in the University of Berlin. Second edition, in three volumes. pp. 516, 576, 512. Berlin, 1838-39. [American edition of the English translation, in two vols. Philadelphia, 1841.]*

THIS work is already in the hands of many of our readers; and yet we are persuaded, that on the appearance of this new edition, we shall be rendering a service by presenting them a brief outline of so valuable a production. But observation has led us to suppose that many of the clergy are not aware what an amount of religious instruction of an historical character may be derived from its pages; while not a few must forego the pleasure of a perusal, on account of its expensiveness. To these, a general view of the contents of the book cannot be unacceptable. The political events,† also, that have recently transpired, will excite an additional interest in the general subject.

* The article, of which we here present a translation, is taken from Tholuck's Literary Index, of May, 1839. It is evidently from the pen of the editor himself. Few men are sufficiently acquainted with this unfrequented path of church history to be competent judges of so original and rich a contribution as Prof. Ranke has here made to the historical literature of Europe. Dr. Tholuck belongs to that select number. Though he professes to give only an analysis of the work, and frequently avails himself of the language of the author, it soon becomes obvious that he draws largely from his own resources; that he understands the subject, as well as the book; and gives, as none but a master could, the distilled essence of history. We have not been careful to mark those shades of opinion in which we might sometimes differ slightly from the author of the article. For its general sentiments we hold ourselves responsible. Our references are made to the American edition.—ED.

† The reviewer here refers to the negotiation between the king of Prussia and the court of Rome, in respect to the Catholics in the Westphalian provinces, and more particularly to the archbishop of Cologne.

Mr. Ranke has selected a portion of history the importance of which has not been hitherto sufficiently appreciated; for Protestants too readily incline to the belief that the *history of the Papacy terminated with the Reformation*. But from him we learn, that after this period mighty efforts were made by the Romish church to regain its lost ascendancy, only, however, to experience a still more signal overthrow. The author commences by portraying the events which led to the establishment of the papal power, and its condition at the beginning of the sixteenth century. With this object in view, he glances at the principal epochs of its early history, and the gradual rise in the Roman empire of the hierarchy of Bishops, Metropolitans and Patriarchs, among whom the Bishop of Rome soon obtained the highest rank. He speaks, too, of the revival of the Roman power, after the invasion of the northern barbarians, as affected by the union between the Popes and Franks; also of the supremacy of the imperial over the ecclesiastical power. Here the author introduces some just remarks upon the nice balance existing between these two great European powers, and considers the consequences of incompetency in the Emperor, or of ambition in the Pope, should he, seizing upon his three-fold power with which his rank, his spiritual authority and his political influence clothed him, array himself in opposition to the empire. Opportunities for effecting this were frequently presented. The hierarchy contained an element opposed to unlimited imperial dominion, which would develop itself as soon as a favorable occasion should offer. There was also a seeming contradiction in the idea that the Pope should have the highest spiritual authority, and still be subject to the Emperors. Yet to remove this contradiction by elevating the papal above the imperial authority, cost many a bloody struggle. The Pontiff, however, finally succeeded, and made himself equal or even superior in power to the Emperor. The clergy were at his disposal; the states were politically at variance with each other, while only the church had the means of uniting in one band her numerous supporters. Under her guidance, and in her name, the different nations of Europe spread themselves abroad as one people, in extensive colonies, and thus sought to subdue the world. It is not surprising, then, that her authority over her own

members was boundless,—that a king of England received his crown in feudal dependence on the Pope,—that a king of Arragon surrendered his kingdom to the apostle Peter, and that the throne of Naples was actually transferred to another house. These are striking features of the times, of which an adequate idea has never been formed. They present the most extraordinary combination of inward contention and outward prosperity, of voluntary action and strict obedience, and of spirituality and worldliness.

But all human agency is subject to the silent yet powerful and incessant operation of an invisible hand. The papal power was called into being by the course of events. But now the current was changed. The French nation was the first to offer direct resistance to the authority of the Pope; the German and English followed. The Papacy itself was weakened by internal dissensions, especially by the schism of the rival Popes; and this furnished an opportunity to the secular powers for reaction upon the church.

The earlier Popes always had lofty aims,—the protection of oppressed Christianity, its conflict with paganism, the spread of religion among the nations of the North, and the establishment of an independent hierarchy; but since the Reformation, the Pontiffs have sought only the political interests of their Italian dominions. For a long time, indeed, there had existed a tendency to decay; and even at the council of Basle, it was not thought improper that a Pope should have sons to defend him against tyrants.

The first who, with deliberate purpose and permanent effect, acted upon this idea, was Sixtus IV. Alexander VI pursued it with the utmost vigor, and with singular success. Julius II finally established a power which no Pope had ever possessed. It is inconceivable that any portion of the ecclesiastical establishment should fail to participate in such a tendency. But in this secularization of spiritual things, there was still one germ of new life, without which the human mind would hardly have entered upon that course which is a distinguishing mark of European culture,—we mean the revival of classical learning. For it almost seemed necessary that a profane element should operate in bringing this study into a flourishing condition. In the midst of this profusion of talent and art, and in the enjoyment of the worldly display of

the highest spiritual honor, lived Leo X. Never had the papal court been more lively, agreeable and intellectual; but of religious feeling, in the proper sense of the term, there was no trace. On the contrary, a direct opposition to it was manifested. How surprised was the youthful Luther, on his visit to Rome! As soon as the mass was over, the priests uttered words of blasphemy, and denied its efficacy. In Rome, a man was not regarded as enlightened, unless he held to heretical opinions. At court, the dogmas of the Catholic church and the Scriptures were mentioned only by way of jest; the mysteries of the faith were despised. Even Germany participated in this intellectual progress, but in a totally different manner. On both sides of the Alps, the advancement of the age manifested itself in opposition to the church. Beyond the Alps, it was connected with science and literature; on this side, it originated in deep religious feeling and theological investigation. There it was negative and skeptical; here it was positive and believing. There it was ironical, and obsequious to power; here it was full of seriousness and indignation, and girded itself for the boldest assault which the Romish church ever received.

In chapter third, there is a very clear exhibition of the manner in which the ecclesiastical and secular interests ran into each other, and in which Protestantism rose into existence under these embarrassments and collisions. The rulers, in their collisions with Rome, desired nothing more than the appearance of religious opposition to the Apostolical See. Therefore, the Emperor Maximilian would not suffer any violence to be done to the monk, Luther. Afterwards, when Clement VII abandoned the party of the Emperor, Charles and Ferdinand had no longer occasion to act in the matter of the Reformation in favor of the Pope; and hence, at the diet of Spire, a decree was passed to which the Protestant party owed its legal existence. So, also, the demand for a council, at which the old idea of a reformation of the church in its head and members was to be carried into execution, was continually held as a weapon in the hands of the Emperor; for nothing could be more undesirable to the Pope and his court than a general council. The call for one made by the Emperor, was the consideration that induced Clement to listen to the proposals of the king of France. Francis I

was at that time on the best terms with the Protestants; he had leagued himself with Philip of Hesse against the Duke of Wirtemberg. By means of the close union which he now formed with the Pope, he connected, in a sense, the Protestants and the Pope in the same political system. And as it could not be the aim of the Emperor to bring them anew into subjection to the Pope, so the latter could not desire to see them wholly at the mercy of the former. At the very moment that the Pope and the Protestants were pursuing each other with unrelenting hatred, we see them united again by similar political interests. This conflict of spiritual and secular interests in which the Papacy had placed itself, was eminently adapted to give to the principles of the Reformation a complete victory.

The second book treats of the beginning of the regeneration of Catholicism in Italy. Even in Leo's time, mention is made of an Oratory of Divine Love, which certain distinguished men in Rome had established for their own spiritual benefit. Among them were Contarini, Sadolet, Giberto and Caraffa, all of them subsequently cardinals. These men interested themselves chiefly in the doctrine of justification. Contarini wrote a special treatise on that subject. This doctrine spread over a great part of Italy. Even females took a lively interest in this religious excitement. Furthermore, it had great currency among the middle classes. According to the account given by the Inquisition, three thousand school teachers were among its advocates. But still these men regarded a secession from the church as the greatest of evils. A sentiment which was decidedly religious, and yet moderate in its ecclesiastical character, pervaded all classes of society, from one end of the country to the other. In this way, an internal reform was in progress. Even the cardinals above mentioned, at the command of Paul III, drew up a plan of ecclesiastical reform. The thorough correction of existing abuses was, it is true, the most difficult of all undertakings; and yet Paul III seemed disposed to apply himself seriously to this task. Suppose that the court and Church of Rome were to reform, could not a reconciliation then be effected? So it seemed to many. Not a few deemed that much might be accomplished by an ecclesiastical conference. The parties were in fact never nearer each other than at the conference at Ratisbon, in

1541. Their political relations were remarkably favorable, inasmuch as the Emperor, who had occasion to direct the power of the empire against the Turks or the French, desired nothing so much as a reconciliation of the contending parties. For this purpose he selected Gropper and Julius Pflug, the most intelligent and moderate of the Catholic theologians. On the part of the Protestants, the pacific Bucer and the pliable Melancthon appeared. To confer with these, the Pope sent Contarini as legate. They actually agreed upon a brief formula, comprehending the four important articles of human depravity, original sin, the atonement, and even justification; so that Melancthon declared that these were the Protestant doctrines. Nothing now remained but to gain the approbation of the Pope, and the consent of Luther. But Luther regarded these articles as a patch-work made up of the sentiments of both parties. The Pope, although he expressed himself less strongly than Luther, manifested a disinclination to approve of such a compromise. Another obstacle intervened, of a political nature. The union of Germany would have given to the Emperor, as the head of the moderate party, a predominant influence in all Europe; and therefore his enemies in Rome, France and Germany raised a fierce opposition to his plan of reconciliation. The Emperor desired, at least, that the two parties should agree for the present to abide by the articles, and in other matters to exercise mutual toleration. But to this neither Luther nor the Pope could be induced to consent; and Contarini returned without having effected any thing of importance. In the mean time, another tendency began to manifest itself. While Luther rejected the priesthood in the form in which it then existed, an attempt was made in Italy to revive the monastic system. On both sides, the corruption of the monastic orders was admitted; but while in Germany nothing short of their dissolution would satisfy the public mind, in Italy there was a strong desire to renew them, according to the example of former times. Still, little could be gained by the reform of these orders alone, since the secular clergy were so entirely estranged from the spirit of their profession. In this manner originated the Theatins, the Barnabites, and other congregations. But mightier agencies were demanded in order to resist successfully the bold aggres-

sions of Protestantism. In the order of Jesuits, these new agencies found a most remarkable development. It is interesting to observe how, out of the wild and visionary schemes of Loyola,—on which our author enlarges,—there grew a well-ordered institution of unrivalled practical efficiency. The influence of this order was very observable, even upon the council of Trent. Salmeron and Lainez had managed so adroitly, that on the subject of justification, they gave their voice and opinion, the one at the beginning and the other at the close of the discussion, and thus opposed in the most effectual manner the doctrine of another party which approximated to the Protestant view.* Another measure was the establishment of a supreme inquisitorial tribunal at Rome, to which all others should be subordinate, and which should forcibly suppress all rising heresies. In this state of things, when their opponents were awed into silence, and the Catholic doctrines were fixed according to the prevalent views of the age, and the ecclesiastical power exacted submission by irresistible authority, the order of Jesuits naturally arose into power. The wide extension of this order, and the powerful influence of its rapid success in the more systematic development of its constitution, though not unknown before, are here skilfully exhibited. The general result is well stated in a brief summary with which the author concludes his second book :

"We see, that while, on the one hand, the movement with which Protestantism agitated the minds of men advanced on every side with rapid strides, on the other, a new tendency had in like manner arisen in the bosom of Catholicism,—in Rome,—around the presence and person of the Pope.

"This, no less than the former, sprang from the corruptions and worldliness which had deformed the church, or rather from the wants that they had generated in the minds of men. At the beginning, these two tendencies approximated.

* Mrs. Austin has surely failed of the sense, in translating the words, *Salmeron und Lainez hatten sich das wohl ausgesonnene Vorrecht verschafft dass jener zuerst, dieser zuletzt seine Meinung vorzutragen hatte*, in the following manner: "Salmeron and Lainez had obtained the valuable privilege of *successively* offering their opinions." Vol. I, 134. The words themselves convey no such idea as is given in the translation. Besides, it gives no pertinent sense;—wherein does the Jesuitical art consist? We learn, furthermore, from Paul Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, pages 528 and 540, of the French translation, that, on the subject of the eucharist, at least, Salmeron delivered his opinion first, others followed, and Lainez spoke last.

"While the Protestants, resting on Scripture, recurred with ever-increasing boldness to the primitive forms of the Christian religion, their opponents determined to hold fast to the ecclesiastical institutions which had been consolidated in the course of the century, to renew them merely, and to infuse into them fresh spirit, earnestness and strictness.

"Thus do two neighboring and kindred springs arise on the mountain top; but soon their waters form different channels down its rocky sides, the streams diverge, and flow on in opposite directions for ever."*

The third book,—“The Popes in the middle of the Sixteenth century,”—is introduced with the remark, “that the conflict between these two principles,—between the ideas, the actions, and the policy which had hitherto prevailed and had become habitual, and the necessity of effecting a thorough internal reform, constitute the prominent interest in the history of the next Popes.” The political tendencies of the Papacy came into collision with the ecclesiastical, in the pontificate of Paul III, in the year 1545. When all upper Germany was in the power of Charles, and the moment seemed to have arrived, when the Protestant party in Germany might be subdued, and the whole north again be made Catholic, the Pope recalled his troops from the imperial army, and removed the council from Trent to Bologna. The Emperor was obliged to see an essential part of his plans ruined by the desertion of his ally. Julius III decided that the council should be re-opened in the spring of 1551, out of deference to the Emperor, who still cherished the hope of compelling the Protestants to attend the council and to submit to its decisions. Still, it could not but be agreeable to him, that the Protestants were at variance among themselves; he was thereby freed from innumerable inconveniences. Marcellus II, a man who favored the spirituality of the church, and who directed his thoughts to a council and to reform, died on the twenty-second day of his pontificate. From the next conclave came forth as Pope Paul IV, Caraffa, the most rigid of all cardinals. The family of Caraffa belonged to the French party, and he ascribed chiefly to the Emperor himself the success of the Protestants. Besides his zeal for reform, he cherished no other passion than hatred towards the Emperor. Every thing was in preparation for war. The Duke of Alva marched into the Roman territory and besieged the city on both sides. But what a contest was that in which they were engaged! The Duke, as a good Catholic, conducted

* Vol. I, p. 150.

it with extreme moderation, while the Pope was defended against these good Catholics by Protestants mostly German. They despised the sacred images, derided the mass, disregarded the fasts, and committed innumerable outrages, for which the Pope would have put to death any others. He was resolved on extreme measures. His nephew had not only sought aid of the Protestants against the Catholic king, but also of the infidels; yet he was obliged to yield to terms of peace. The Duke came to Rome, and with profound reverence kissed the foot of his captive, the sworn enemy of his nation and his king. He said he had never feared the face of man as he feared that of the Pope. This was the last attempt of the Pope to resist the Spanish arms. And now he devotes himself with more active zeal to the reform of the church.

At this point Prof. Ranke makes some observations on the progress of Protestantism. The connection with France, into which Paul III brought his successor, occasioned a war that resulted not only in a splendid victory for the Protestants, but rapidly extended the doctrines of the Reformation in France and the Netherlands. It should have been the first object of Paul IV to restore peace; but impelled by passion, he rushed into conflict, and thus he, the warmest zealot of his party, contributed more, perhaps, than any of his predecessors to the spread of Protestantism, particularly in England. On his accession to the throne, he was honored with an embassy from England which assured him of the obedience of that country; but he, on the contrary, insisted on the restoration of church property, and even ventured to require again the Peter's pence. He was also embroiled with Philip II, who was at the same time king of England. Elizabeth, manifesting no inclination towards Protestantism, informed the Pope of her ascension; but her ambassador received from him a repulsive and abrupt reply. For this, indeed, there were political reasons. The French desired to prevent the marriage of Elizabeth with Philip II, in order that, should Elizabeth be rejected by the papal court, Mary Stuart, the dauphiness of France, might have the first claim to the English throne. Thus Elizabeth, even if not disposed, was compelled by circumstances to declare in favor of the Protestants. Nor did she delay connecting herself with the English party in Scotland, thus creating a reaction

against the claim of the French, which was favored by the Pope. This fixed for ever the ascendancy of Protestantism in Great Britain.

But the spirit of Protestantism owed not its existence to these political movements. It rested for support on a far deeper principle. Still its crises, for the most part, corresponded with the civil changes of the times. If now, from Rome, as a centre, we look around upon the world, we perceive the immense losses of the Catholic party. The North of Europe and England had sundered their connection with the church. Nearly all Germany had become Protestant. Poland and Hungary were in great commotion. Geneva had become for the nations west of the Rhine, what Wittenberg had for the Germans on the east. Already had a party arisen in the Netherlands and in France, under the standard of Protestantism. Only one hope remained to the Catholic cause. In Spain and Italy the progress of religious dissent was arrested, and even at the court a decidedly religious and ecclesiastical tendency prevailed. The inquiry now was whether this spirit could be sustained and diffused through the whole church.

Pius IV was inclined to worldly pleasure; but the serious turn which religious sentiments had taken at Rome, did not allow him to carry his pleasures to excess. On the other hand, this more worldly feeling contributed much to allaying the dissensions which rent the Catholic church. The council was opened for the third time; but only that violent disputes might speedily burst forth. To the legate of the Pope and the Italian bishops, the prelates of other nations were strongly opposed, and both parties adhered inflexibly to principles, which had their origin at Rome and with the different sovereigns. The object to be accomplished was to gain the consent of the great powers to bring the session to a close. Pius IV resolved to attempt it, and employed as his chief instrument Morone, the ablest and most experienced of his cardinals, and the president of the council. From his account of his embassy to the emperor Ferdinand, we learn that the council could be happily closed only with the concurrence of the sovereigns. Contrary to the original design for which the council was called, it resulted in increasing the power of the Pope. The entire system of Catholic theology was

strengthened; and even the hierarchy was established anew both in theory and in practice. The power of the church was concentrated, and its energies united.

Pius IV induced one province after another to adopt the decisions of that assembly. He was the first Pontiff who deliberately gave up the aim of employing the hierarchy in opposition to the princes. His successor, Pius V, belonged to the most rigid class of ecclesiastics. The extreme regard to be paid to secular powers did not divert him from his course; and this circumstance frequently made him trouble. But notwithstanding all this, his character and deportment exerted an immense influence upon his contemporaries and upon the church, though Cardinal Borromeo had a still greater influence, at least upon the archiepiscopal see of Milan. In Naples, Spain and Portugal, Pius V had an unusual sway. The Tridentine decrees were every where introduced. An intimate union was formed between different Catholic countries, and the princes were now convinced that it was needful for them to be in union with the church. Pius V saw the Christian world united under him in a common undertaking against the Ottomans, which terminated in the splendid victory of Lepanto. Nor did he merely use his influence for an enterprise that was attended with so much glory. He also approved the bloody measures of Alva, and would have approved of St. Bartholomew's Night as readily as his successor did. Such were the temper and feelings with which Pius V lived and died.

The fourth book treats both of the state and of the court during the times of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V. Romanism came forth with new energy against Protestantism. It enjoyed an incalculable advantage, in possessing a common centre, a leader, who directed all its movements. The Pope was not only able to unite the strength of the other Catholic powers for one common effort, but he had a territory of his own sufficiently powerful to contribute materially to its success. Mr Ranke presents a very interesting account of the system of finances of the papal state. Gregory XIII was by nature cheerful and fond of pleasure, but, in present circumstances, even such a man could not free himself from the rigid spirit of the church. He cannot be accused of having favored nepotism. He provided for a strict ecclesiastical education, and himself liberally contributed to

the support of the College of Jesuits, the House of Novitiates and the *Collegium Germanicum* at Rome. To this fostering care for the interests of the Catholic world belongs his improvement of the calendar. The administration of Gregory was particularly memorable for the extension and renewal of feudal rights, to which he resorted as a financial measure. Hereby were nearly all possessions rendered insecure; the whole country was thrown into commotion; the old parties were every where revived; and banditti were formed into associations in all the provinces. The neighboring princes, to whom the Pope had paid no regard, saw with pleasure the troubles in which he was now involved.

Of Sixtus V, Prof. Ranke has drawn a new and true picture. He contradicts the well-known story respecting the artifices to which he is said to have resorted in order to obtain the tiara. Sixtus was still "in tolerably fresh vigor, and of a healthy and good constitution." Not a year passed without his ferreting out the bandits, and punishing them with Oriental severity.* His administration was characterized by thoroughness, strictness, and arbitrary power, and no where more than in his financial operations. He deposited three million scudi of gold in the castle of St. Angelo, to be devoted to the defence and propagation of the Catholic faith. It is very extraordinary that one should resort to loans, and subject himself to costs, in order to lay aside treasures in a fortified place for future exigencies. It is this that has rendered Sixtus memorable in the eyes of the world. His name is also remembered for his supplying the city with water by means of colossal aqueducts, so that its deserted hills could be again inhabited.

But he differed in spirit very widely from Leo X. This Franciscan had no taste for the beauty of the remains of antiquity. He was as active in demolishing as in building. He scarcely tolerated the Laocoön and the Apollo Belvi-

* This passage is sadly mangled in the English translation, where it is said: "And thus not a year passed in which the disorders which had prevailed in the ecclesiastical states were not crushed when they openly burst forth, even if not stifled at their birth." Vol. I, 270. The original is, Und so vergieng kein Jahr, so waren die Bewegungen des Kirchenstaats, wenn nicht in ihren Quellen erstickt, doch in ihrem Ausbruch bezwungen. That is, "Not a year passed before the disorders of the States of the Church were, if not stifled in their sources, at least suppressed when they broke out openly."

dere in the Vatican. On the capitol was a Jupiter Tonans between Minerva and Apollo. The Minerva only was suffered to remain; and in order that it might represent Christian Rome, he took from its hand a spear, and substituted a huge cross. He took special interest in the erection of the obelisk in front of St. Peter's; because "he desired to see the monuments of paganism subjected to the cross in the same place where the Christians suffered crucifixion." The vital spirit of modern Catholicism flowed through all the members of the social system, and in each was manifested at the close of the century symptoms opposite to those which marked its commencement. A leading characteristic was, a disposition in scientific investigation, and still more in the forms of literature and art, to forsake the models of antiquity. At the same time, changes occurred which exerted an inconceivable influence upon the public taste. The republics of Italy went to decay; the old national poetry, and the religious cast of literature and art, were despised. It was then that the church rose to a higher elevation, suppressed philosophy and science, and gave a new direction to poetry and art. While all the social elements were affected by this new movement, the court of Rome, where all these influences met, was itself greatly changed. Several successive Popes of this period were men of blameless lives; the court and the cardinals participated in the general sentiment; every thing which flourished at this court,—political administration, poetry, art, learning,—all caught the same tinge; but the very nature of the court made it necessary, that in connection with this religious movement, a new impulse should be given to secular interests; every man was bent on acquisition, and not always in a religious way; the prelacy and the curia became somewhat republican; the consequence was, that every thing was claimed by all, and yet the absolute power of an individual acted as a counterpoise to their deliberations; hence affairs assumed a very peculiar aspect, whose lights and shades are admirably presented by the author. Thus the newly awakened spirit of the Catholic church gave a new impulse to every thing. The piety of the curia, and its ambitious aims, both rested on the idea of an exclusive orthodoxy; now an attempt was once more made to conquer the world.

After the council of Trent, the Papacy acted a prominent

part in history; shaken to its very core, it had found the means to maintain and renew itself. Rome was even now a conquering power; once more she meditated projects and enterprises, such as in ancient times or in the Middle Ages had emanated from the seven hills.

Mr. Ranke commences Book Fifth by exhibiting a comparative view of the power and position of the opposing parties; the dominion of Protestant principles extended far and wide over the Germanic, Sclavonic, and Romanic* nations; but especially in Germany, the native soil of the Reformation, had Protestantism struck its roots deep. In Würzburg and Bamberg, by far the greater part of the nobility and the Episcopal authorities, the majority of the magistrates and burghers, and the whole mass of the people had embraced the new doctrines. The Protestant movement had proceeded with equal activity in Bavaria. In Austria it was asserted that only about one-thirtieth part of the inhabitants had adhered to Catholicism. A Venetian ambassador, in the year 1558, reckons that only a tenth part of the inhabitants of Germany had remained faithful to the old religion. In the universities, also, the Protestant doctrines had been victorious. Calvinism, an enemy still more formidable, had arisen, in the south and west. In the British empire, the new church had assumed two wholly opposite forms. In Scotland, where it attained to power in opposition to the government, it was poor, popular and democratic; but so much the more resistless was the enthusiasm which it inspired. In England it had gained the ascendancy by the alliance with the existing government; there it was rich, monarchical, and magnificent, and was content with exacting conformity to its ritual. In France, a Venetian ambassador, in 1561, did not find a single province free from the Protestant doctrines; three-fourths of the kingdom were filled with them. It would almost seem that these estimates must have been exaggerated (compare what the author himself says in Vol. I, pp. 320, 349, and Vol. II, p. 39). So much however is certain, that these doctrines sent out their life-giving power to the remotest corners of Europe. But the Papacy also, which had long been obliged to maintain a defensive

* Nations in the south of Europe, once included in the Roman empire and now speaking languages which descended from the Latin, as the Italian, French and Spanish, in distinction from the Teutonic nations.—ED.

attitude, displayed new energy. The restored Catholic system first gained possession of the two southern peninsulas; and it was far from having lost all in the other kingdoms of Europe. Again becoming strong within itself, and in its powerful adherents, and acquiring new confidence in its resources, it found itself able to pass from a defensive position to one of attack. To consider the progress and consequences of this change the author declares to be the main object of his work, and proposes, on the one hand, to keep the great changes in political affairs the more steadily in view, since they often exactly coincide with the results of the religious warfare; and, on the other, to fathom to the very bottom the interests of the several countries, in order to understand the internal movements which facilitated the projects of Rome. The first new anti-protestant impulse was given in Germany by the Jesuits, who went forth from Vienna, Cologne and Ingolstadt into all parts of Germany. We are here presented with an occurrence, unparalleled, perhaps, in the history of the world. Whenever a new intellectual excitement has seized the public mind, it has invariably been through the agency of distinguished persons, through the overwhelming power of newly-discovered truths; but here the effect was produced without any profound discovery; the Jesuits may have been learned and pious in their way, but their science did not spring from intellectual greatness, nor their piety from the depth and sincerity of their feelings. We in Germany may at the same time consider the success of their order among us in the light of the general influence of the Romanic nations of Europe upon the Teutonic. They could not, indeed, have succeeded so easily but for the favor of the princes of the empire. This is minutely illustrated by the author, together with the resistance offered by the Protestants. These two great religious parties once more came into collision with equal hopes of success. It is interesting to observe the various forms which the Catholic reaction assumed.

The author's representation of the mutual influence of the political and religious relations is skilfully drawn. He every where manifests a clear insight into the relations of nations with one another; thus, for example, he regards the execution of Mary Stuart as an act of political justice. She was incessantly in secret correspondence with the

Guises, with the malcontents of the country, with the king of Spain, and with the Pope. She was the representative of the Catholic principle, so far as it was in its nature opposed to the existing government. On the first appearance of success in the Catholic party, she would inevitably have been called to the throne. The position which she occupied was indeed the result of circumstances, but she chose not to retire from it, and for this she paid the forfeit of her life.

In the sixth book, which treats of the internal conflict between doctrines and power, the author returns to the last days of Sixtus V. Here also he gives in the Introduction a brief but admirable survey of the state of the Christian world. "The current of public opinion had taken a direction quite the reverse of what might reasonably have been expected at the beginning of the century. At that time, there was a general relaxation of the authority and discipline of the church, the Papacy itself nearly forgot its hierarchical character; while in literature and art, profane tastes and studies prevailed, and the principles of a pagan morality were avowed without disguise. At the moment we are contemplating, how totally was all this changed! In the name of religion wars were declared, conquests achieved, states revolutionized." Never were theologians in possession of greater power. This was more especially observable on the side of the Catholics. Under these circumstances, the most arrogant pretensions of the times of Hildebrand were resuscitated. The European nations have never been controlled by mere force; nor has their condition at all times been influenced by mere opinions.* Thus at the present time theories relating to the church and the state were invented and circulated, especially by the Jesuits. Men have frequently ascribed to the Catholic system a tendency to the monarchical or aristocratical form of government; but it is only concerned to ascertain where it can find most support. If existing powers are arrayed in hostility against it, it will never consent either

* The English translation of Ranke gives directly the contrary sense: "Under all its phases, its condition has been influenced by speculations and opinions" (vol. I, 406), which is not only contrary to the language of the original, but to the design of the author, which was to show the relative influences of opinion and of power upon the character and condition of the people.—ED.

to spare or to recognize them. The Pope came forth with claims; his supporters and champions with tears and with arguments; all which combined to threaten states and kingdoms both with internal revolutions and the loss of their independence. Never in Europe has either a power or a principle,—least of all a political one,—attained to a more perfect despotism than was exhibited in this order. Thus the independence of nations, not only with the Protestants, but also with the Catholics, came forth in opposition to the dominion of the priesthood. This opposition was favored by fear of the union of the papal doctrines with the dangerous and increasing power of Spain, and is clearly exemplified in the troubles which resulted in France from the death of Henry III. His Protestant successor, Henry IV, saw himself suddenly surrounded by Catholic allies, who even protected him against the head of their own church. Sixtus V at first cherished a fixed resolution to excite a general opposition of the Catholics against the Protestant who should claim the throne of France; but the Venetians urged the necessity of restoring the balance of power in Europe; and as Henry gave signs of changing his faith, the Pope soon relaxed his severity. The rigid Catholic party were astonished at the change, and this led to disagreeable discussions between the Spanish and the Roman courts. Even the Pope was not in the end sufficiently Catholic for the Spaniards. He had himself formerly entertained different views. The three following Popes, all favoring the Spanish doctrines, reigned but a short time. But Clement VII, after Henry's conversion to the Catholic faith, and the success of his arms in France, could no longer refuse to grant him absolution. The two leading powers of Europe were now Catholic; and between these the papal power enjoyed more independence than had for a long time fallen to its lot. It directed its attention especially to restoring the Jesuits, who had been driven out of France on account of their factious spirit and their Spanish principles. An excitement in the order itself came to the aid of the Pope. It was a singular circumstance that while the Jesuits were banished from France on account of their Spanish attachments, the most dangerous attack upon them was made by Spain itself. In both countries, motives of policy and principle were united. The former were the same in both,

namely, a national dislike to the privileges of the order. The latter had their origin in the new doctrines concerning the sovereignty of the people, and the murder of kings which destroyed them in France, and their Molinistic sentiments respecting free-will, which ruined them in Spain. Inasmuch as the Jesuits adopted a similar policy in regard to France to that pursued by the Pope, and testified their allegiance to Henry, the order was restored in France, and henceforth enjoyed in that country the same protection which the Dominicans had in Spain. The dissension of the Venetians, among whom a spiritual and a secular republicanism were arrayed against each other,—the latter, especially represented by Sarpi,—was by the mediation of the French cabinet at least externally allayed. Thus were the conservative principles once more victorious, and the contest against Protestantism proceeded without interruption.

The Seventh Book describes, in the first chapter, the efforts of the Catholics in Poland and the adjacent countries, their attempts upon Sweden and Russia, the progress of the counter-reformation in Germany, the effect of the papal embassy in Switzerland, and finally, the regeneration of Catholicism in France, particularly by means of the reviving of monastic discipline. The second chapter treats of the general war and the victories of the Catholics, from 1617 to 1623. At the commencement of the war, the Catholics were closely united in sentiment, admirers of classical literature, and attached to monarchical principles; the Protestants were in a state of dissension, advocates of the modern school of literature, and especially the Huguenots, Puritans, and Netherlanders, decidedly republican in their political predilections. Catholicism, therefore, was every where triumphant; particularly in Bohemia, the hereditary dominions of Austria, and the hitherto Protestant portions of France. Encouraging prospects were also opened in the Netherlands, and in England under James I, while the Jesuits were pushing their conquests to the most distant parts of the earth. The third chapter is entitled "Conflicting Political Relations.—New Triumphs of Catholicism, 1623–1628." The peculiar characteristic of the progress of religion in this age consisted in the fact, that it every where depended upon the preponderance of political and military power. The most important event was, the

unexampled prosperity of the house of Austria. It was a natural consequence, that old antipathies should be revived. Richelieu sketched large plans, but his undertakings failed; Austria came forth from the struggle victorious. The reconciliation of the Catholic powers was destructive to Protestantism; but their harmony might easily be interrupted. Soon, on the occasion of the Mantuan succession, the two Catholic monarchies resorted anew to arms. While the Pope entered the lists even against that power which most zealously contended for the restoration of Catholicism, Austria assumed a posture in which it prosecuted its enterprises against the Protestants with the greatest vigor, but at the same time greatly humbled the Catholic opposition, and even the Pope himself. There was now no one remaining to whom this opposition could look for aid, but the king of Sweden. So strangely involved was the policy of Urban VIII, that Gustavus Adolphus, as the enemy of Austria, was the natural ally of the Pope. Catholicism, weakened by the conflicting interests of its supporters, paid the price of its victories by the loss of its union. Catholics in agreement with the Pope, called forth the unsubdued energy of the Protestants, and opened for them a career of prosperity. The Catholic interest, even with its collected power, was not able to subdue its opposers. Its limits were henceforth fixed for ever. Never again could it contemplate the conquest of the world. The intellectual development of the age has taken a direction which renders this impossible. The religious element has lost its sway over courts and cabinets; political interests govern the world. The public weal, in each state, each nation, hinges on the manner in which it is able to develop its powers and resources from its own political and moral elements. Upon this principle rest the future destinies of the world.

From this period the Papacy ceased to occupy the important place which it hitherto held in history. Its position is changed, and now its internal history, its territorial dominions, its administration and its economy again attract attention. To this subject Prof. Ranke devotes the residue of his work. Although there are various topics of interest here discussed, especially the administration of the church and of the state, and the abuses in both, yet there are three points which are treated more at length,—Queen Christiana of Sweden, the Jansenists, and the Jesuits.

"The Digression concerning Christiana," contains some admirable psychological observations. The principal change that occurred in the order of the Jesuits, was that the professed members came into possession of power, and in connection with this the aristocratical principles became predominant. A mercantile spirit also was introduced into the system, and infected all its parts. The spirit that once animated them had fallen before the temptations of the world, and their sole endeavor now was to make themselves necessary to mankind, be the means what they might. To this end they accommodated not only the rules of their institute, but even the precepts of religion and morality. It was against such corrupt doctrines that Jansenism rose, whose leading principles were those of Augustine respecting grace and free-will. In the monastery of Port Royal, a small society which adopted these sentiments was collected, and spread rapidly and widely. While the Jesuits treasured up their learning in formidable folios, the Jansenists addressed themselves to the people.

The Roman court, without being able entirely to suppress this religious party, condemned their doctrines; because a question respecting the extent of the papal power happened to be associated with the controversy. The civil governments also took an independent stand, and were regardless of the papal policy. In the management of their own internal affairs they acted for themselves, and thus diminished more and more the influence of the curia even in ecclesiastical matters. The history of the Papacy henceforth rests on these two important changes. In the epochs which follow, far from displaying any spontaneous energy, it was completely occupied with finding means of defending itself as well as it could from the attacks which assailed it on every side.

To describe these epochs forms, according to the views of the author, no part of the purpose of his work. He therefore gives only a brief outline of the modern phases of the Papacy. This outline comprehends, "The contest between Louis XIV and Innocent XI, the Spanish succession, the altered state of Europe, internal agitations, and the suppression of the Jesuits." The Jesuits, says Professor Ranke, were attacked and overthrown, chiefly because they fought for the most rigid view of the supremacy of the Roman court: and the Pope himself, in thus consenting to their suppression, surrendered the strictness of that

view, and all the consequences thence resulting. The opposition to the church obtained an undoubted victory. After the outworks had fallen, the defection of the people became more and more extensive, and reached even to that kingdom whose existence and power were most intimately connected with the resuscitation of the Catholic system. With this the author introduces the last chapter of his work, entitled, "The Revolutionary Age," in which he treats of the projects of Joseph II, and still more particularly of the French Revolution. "Who are those that attack the Papacy? They are none other than its own adherents. Who was it, on the other hand, that at last delivered the Papacy from political servitude? It was a coalition of Catholic Austria with the Protestants of the German and Anglican confessions, and the Slavonic adherents to the Greek faith." A decisive change in the relation between the Papists and the Protestants is hereby necessarily introduced. It is a kind of historical justification of what Paul III and Urban VIII at least indirectly did, when they relieved Protestantism in the time of its greatest danger. Such a course is made necessary, since differences of religious opinion can no longer produce such systematic opposition as formerly,—a momentous change in the history of the world. A general amnesty is concluded,—brought about by the force of circumstances. After centuries of contention, a prospect of universal reconciliation opens. A complete apprehension of the spiritual principles which lie at the foundation of all outward forms, and are adequately expressed by none, must in the end do away all enmities, and produce a more elevated spiritual union.

From the foregoing survey it is sufficiently evident, that the work here noticed belongs to the very first class of the literary productions of the present age. There is, indeed, inequality in the execution; and especially towards the close, it partakes more and more the character of a mere sketch. But the author thereby secures the advantage of presenting more conspicuously to view the period of which he professes to treat.

The Appendix gives signal evidence of the thorough and impartial use which the author has made of the original documents to which he had access. His labors, therefore, cannot fail to cast much new light upon the period which he has so thoroughly investigated. The brief extracts which are here given may serve as a specimen of his

animated and attractive style. The author knows how to interweave with his narrative lively images and graphic delineations. The admirable maxims with which he introduces each chapter, and which find their interpretation in the events which follow, and the results which he gives with great clearness and definiteness at the close, produce a very happy effect. He surrenders himself to his subject with earnest feelings and upright intentions; and it cannot be otherwise than that the events should present themselves to his mind in their true import, and their actual relations, so that his historical combinations are no less natural than original. It deserves to be distinctly recorded, that he maintains throughout the most commendable impartiality, and every where speaks of the Papacy in language of becoming dignity and sobriety. Were we to characterize the historical art and merit of this work in a few words, we should say that the author knows how to keep up the distinction between religion and government, and yet to comprehend them in their true relation under a general view. The specific result to which the work conducts us is, that *the Protestant system necessarily and justifiably grew out of the Catholic*; that the latter, having served as a scaffolding to the former, has become useless; and therefore that all attempts to revive it, however well contrived and vigorously prosecuted, must necessarily result in failure. Henceforth the least that the Catholics can do is, to acknowledge the Protestants as their equals in rank and power.*

* Of the character of the English translation of the work reviewed, it is hardly necessary to speak; nor could we, even if it were a part of our design, pass any judgment on which others could safely rely, inasmuch as we have compared it with the original only where we were unable to understand the connection in the English, or where the reviewer adopted the language of the author. That the sense is sometimes misapprehended, has already been made evident; but when it is remembered that many general expressions receive their true interpretation from the facts recorded, and that the subject of which our author treats is one with which it is no reproach in the fair translator not to be altogether familiar, no one will be surprised, if occasional errors should be found. It certainly is a great merit to preserve in translation the English pure and undefiled; but in the version before us, as in others by the same hand, we find beyond mere idiomatic and flowing English, a beauty and force of language not every where to be found in original compositions. We regret that we cannot speak as favorably of the manner in which these volumes are printed. It is no honor to the American press, that a work of such character as Ranke's History of the Popes should be so disfigured with typographical errors.—ED.

ARTICLE VII.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR, ON THE STUDY OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE.

FROM PROF. M. STUART.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have read your remarks, in the last No. of the Christian Review, on the Study of the German Language, with no small degree of interest; and I may truly add, with much satisfaction. I am not aware in what way the reasoning upon the subject is to be fairly met and overthrown. Nor do I believe that those who are zealously opposed to this study, or who are accustomed to look on it at least with much of secret suspicion and dread, depend on candid reasoning and solid argument, to support the opinion which they either openly avow or secretly cherish. If I am not greatly mistaken, it is with them more a matter of *feeling* than of logic. Nor do I say this in the way of reproach; for the feeling which they cherish may in some respects be considered as natural, and perhaps even as laudable. At all events we may easily account for it, that those who cherish a deep concern for the interests of evangelical truth, should look with alarm, and even dread, upon every thing which in their view has a tendency to undermine a reverence for that truth; more so still, on every thing which seems to them absolutely to deny it, and even to hold it up to public scorn. And in this light, it is undoubtedly true, they regard the German writers of the present day on theology and sacred criticism. Can you or I, now, find it in our hearts to censure in strong terms and with exasperation of feeling, a conviction which springs from so honest, and in some respects so laudable, a source as this? I trust not. If we feel ourselves necessitated to form a different opinion, and, when it becomes expedient, openly and without any tergiversation to defend it, we will at least try to do, what those who suspect or objurgate us have not always done, that is, *ἀληθεύειν ἐν ἀγάπῃ*. We are not attacking them. We have taken our own position; we have been assailed in it with no little violence; we have sometimes even known what it is to have judgment without mercy; we have heard whispers, as we have passed along our quiet path, from this looker-on and that, of *Foenum habet in cornu*, or at

least of *Hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.* We make no pretences to any stoicism or uncommon independence or intrepidity; and therefore we have never, I trust, been disposed to say: *Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo.* We have not, even in our hearts, reckoned those who assail us as belonging to the *vulgaris*, but continued to regard at least the most of them as well-meaning, pious brethren, zealous for the cause of truth, according to their views of truth, jealous of every thing which can do it an injury, and wishing well to the great cause in which we are all in common engaged. We do not pretend that we have not felt the reproaches which some of them have meant to convey; for we do not think that any credit is due to the apathy that cannot feel in such cases, or to the pride and haughtiness of spirit which can only look down with contempt. But still, amid all these efforts in one way and another, *spurgere voces ambiguas*; after often and carefully reviewing the whole subject; we have thought it to be our duty to keep on the tenor of our way, and to read and study German writers, just as much and as often as we have felt persuaded that we could derive more profit from them than from English ones. You have come out and given some reasons to the public why you pursue such a course; and as I most heartily approve of the course, and believe moreover in the validity of your reasoning, I have thought it not unsuitable for me to add a few things, as it were in the way of supplement to your remarks, in order that I might also contribute my mite toward the main design which you have in view.

Will you allow me to say, that you are, as yet, only in your *novitiate*, as to the reproach and suspicion occasioned by German studies? You have recently returned from Germany, where you remained long enough to form a somewhat extensive acquaintance with its language, its literature and learned men, its character, and its comparative rank in the scale of nations. Among the denomination of Christians to which you belong, the development of German acquisitions, in this country, is as yet a kind of novelty. Some few of your brethren had previously acquired a knowledge of the German language, and had reaped some fruits from it; but the exhibition of those fruits had scarcely commenced, when you began your connection with the Christian Review. There, as was perfectly natural, you have exhibited, from time to time, notices of German matters which have been highly interesting, at least to me, but which seems to have filled the minds of some of your fellow Christians with alarm, if not with suspicion. This is the natural course of things. But it is no "new thing under the sun." As Coheleth says: *מה שָׁהֵה כִּי־הַיְאָה*, that which is, was long ago,

(Ecc. 3 : 15). You, who, as I have said, have hardly completed your novitiate in this hard service, may perhaps be somewhat disquieted, or at times disheartened, by the experience of such things. But I have become a kind of veteran in this warfare, and can exhort my younger brethren, who have but newly enlisted, not to be fearful, nor to retreat at all from the field, until at least a Waterloo battle is lost or gained.

It might amuse you, and perhaps the public, if I were to give a detailed relation of my experience, in regard to the subject before us. I do not expect, indeed, that any one would follow such a narrative, with the interest that he feels in following the history of Wellington's peninsular war, or Napoleon's campaigns. I have scarcely any pitched battles to tell of, and certainly no great achievements of my own to blazon. Yet I have never been free from the aggressions of guerilla parties, and always have been forced to live on the *expectante*.

When I began my course of German study, it was by mere accident. I had been here about two years as an officer of this Seminary; just long enough to begin to know and feel how impoverished my treasury was, and that I could not much longer issue even bills of credit, which would be current among the intelligent public. I came here with little more than a knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet, and the power of making out, after a poor fashion too, the bare translation of some chapters in Genesis, and a few Psalms, by aid of Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, and without the vowel points. I had not, and never have had, the aid of any teacher in my biblical studies. Alas ! for our country at that time (A. D. 1810); there was scarcely a man in it, unless by accident some one who had been educated abroad, that had such a knowledge of Hebrew as was requisite in order to be an instructor.

My inquiries, limited as they were, thrust me upon some passages of German, contained in the works of German commentators, which were written for the most part in Latin; and occasionally, upon Luther's German version of the Scriptures, as quoted by them. At an age when curiosity, if it belong to a man's composition, is wide awake, I felt an instinctive desire to know what Luther had said, and how others, who thought and acted with him, had explained the Bible. Good old Schleusner, too, then the only New Testament Lexicon that seemed to promise much in the way of criticism, often resorted, as I observed, to the German, in order to explain the force of certain Greek words. This led me fully to resolve on an effort to become acquainted with the German language; although I then knew as little about the treasures contained in the German,

as I did about those which are comprised in the Arabic or the Sanscrit.

Accident soon threw in my way Luther's New Testament, with Noehden's German Grammar and Dictionary; then, and I believe still, the best helps to the study of the German. A friend in Boston, who had studied theology in Europe, and lived for a while in Holland, presented me with Seiler's *Hermeneutik* (Hermeneutics), and this opened to me the world of German sacred literature. I perceived that I had not yet even passed the threshold, after some three years' labour here. Five years even, did I teach Hebrew, (if *teaching* it could be called), *without the vowel points*. I even published a Grammar of this kind, a part of which I set up with my own hands. Our Library, in its beginnings, was small, and none of the better helps were as yet supplied; and I—before I obtained Seiler—did not know enough to believe that I yet knew nothing in sacred criticism. Seiler—that good old evangelical Seiler—opened my eyes, in some good measure, and made me to see that I had every thing to do, and had yet done nothing. Thanks to a kind Providence, which, in the absolute want of all living and oral guides in our own country, gave me a teacher whose counsels were so valuable, and whose reverence for evangelical truth remained so firm and unshaken, amid all the defections of his day;—a period when Eichhorn was in the ascendant, and came to his meridian splendour.

The sale of the Rev. J. S. Buckminster's library in Boston threw a considerable number of German critical works into our Library here. Flatt's excellent and staunchly orthodox *Magazin* also fell into my hands, about this time; which still remains a standard and a noble work. My first race in German, therefore, was not in company with the heretics. Seiler, Storr, Flatt, J. D. Michaelis, were my leaders. Others of course must come in the sequel; and Eichhorn, Gabler, Paulus, Staüdlin, Haenlein, Jahn, Rosenmüller (father and son), Gesenius, Planck, and others of like rank and character, were all, in their turn, read or consulted as to their leading works, as occasion demanded. At the present time, there are but few German writers of much distinction in sacred literature, which our Library does not contain, and my range has been less circumscribed.

That the grammars and lexicon of Gesenius were a very important aid to me, no one will now doubt, who knows their character. It was in the use of these, and of other German helps in sacred criticism, that I became in some tolerable degree familiar with the German language; and, in consequence of this

familiarity, I have, for the last twenty years, read much more in German authors (comprising their Latin as well as German productions), than I have in my own vernacular language; a matter not of choice, i. e. not out of any special partiality for the German, but one to me of necessity. Those who do not understand this subject, and have never engaged in critical studies, may say, as some of them have often said, that such a course was unnecessary for me. But I venture to assert, without any fear of contradiction from intelligent judges, that there is more *scientific* knowledge of biblical criticism comprised in the German (including the *Latin* productions of Germans), than in all the other languages of the world taken together; nay, I venture to say even more, and to aver, that all the really sacred literature of the world besides will not amount to one-half of theirs.

When I had once been brought out from my former state of profound ignorance in regard to the great truth just announced, it was natural for me to act like one, who feels that new light and new aid have been proffered, for which he ought to be grateful. I often met, in the course of my reading, with sentiments in neological writers which gave me pain; yet rarely, very rarely, have I met with indecorum in the manner of expressing them. I know well, that they are not the less dangerous on this account to the young and inexperienced reader; but still, they were less repugnant to my feelings, because *decorum* implies at least some regard to the decencies of life, and at least wears the aspect in some measure of candour. In general, the Neologists of Germany have preserved altogether more decorum than the skeptics or rationalists of England and France.

On the other hand, I cannot well express the satisfaction that I enjoyed, in perusing the deep and radical discussions of some of the leading and orthodox writers of Germany. With the exception of Butler, Berkely, Edwards, and a few others, I know not where to find specimens of equal *talent* in our own mother tongue; and any of equal *learning* were not to be found.

The question, at this time, never once occurred to my mind in the shape of a debateable one, whether the study of the German was profitable or expedient. *As one of the sources of knowledge*, the German, I supposed, was deserving of attention as a matter of course. Such a decision, I apprehend, will be instinctive to all those who have a strong desire of knowledge. Or, if I at any time made it for the moment a matter of doubt in my own mind, or rather of inquiry, my own experience, after the first six months' reading, had already decided the point for myself beyond all debate.

Thus you will perceive, my dear Sir, how I was led along, step by step, in a way which I had not before known. The novelty and the interest, which often combined to attract me, were persuasives which I could not well resist.

In the mean time, you may be curious to know how it fared with me during this long journey, somewhat a devious one, to be sure, for one of our countrymen at this period. Your own experience, if I may guess at it by what you have said in your remarks, will give you some anticipations as to what I have to relate. No sooner had I begun to speak of some of the vagaries of German criticism, than some of my best friends began to feel a degree of alarm. It was not long before this became a matter of serious concern to them. Defections from orthodoxy had already become so fashionable at this period, in our metropolis and in its neighborhood, that more still were to be feared; and specially might it be my lot, as they apprehended, to fall in with this current, because I was avowedly fond of reading German writers, whose Liberalism began then to be indistinctly bruited among us. I was young, somewhat ardent, and withal not distinguished for sectarian zeal. The freedom and seeming fearlessness with which I indulged myself in reading even critics of the looser stamp, was, in the view of many, a just and strong ground of suspicion that all was not well with me; and the fear at least was quite predominant in their minds, that sooner or later I should fall a sacrifice to what they regarded as an unrestrained and imprudent indulgence in reading of this character. I speak of *freedom* and *fearlessness* as judged of by them; not as being altogether true in reference to myself at this period. Without *fear* I was not, so long as I had not yet become possessed of all the leading grounds of Rationalism. I did not and could not know what might yet be developed, nor whither I might be led. But this I knew, that the holy apostle had not only permitted, but enjoined, those who are teachers of religion, to "prove all things;" and I hoped that I might still "hold fast that which was good."

Some of my best and most confidential friends were no doubt in a state of real alarm, at this period, respecting me. Their motives I have gradually learned more fully to appreciate; I did not misconstrue them even then. Not unfrequently did I receive, sometimes direct intimations of alarm, and at others innuendos of suspicion that all was not, or would not be, well. There were seasons when this was exceedingly painful to my sensitiveness. Almost did I resolve, more than once, that I would give up a pursuit so full of alarm to those I loved and honoured. Yet never once did I seriously deliberate within

myself upon the subject, without coming to the same conclusion, viz., that I must know, better than my friends, what the influence of German reading had been upon me. I already felt that my faith in the sentiments which are generally named *orthodox*, had been rather strengthened than weakened by the experiment. Not a little of what I once believed, more in the way of tradition from the fathers than in the way of investigation and personal conviction, I now believed after examining the arguments which extensive learning, and distinguished talent, and sometimes sparkling wit, had arrayed against it. I believed partly upon trust, before; but now, after often repeated examination of what could be alleged against my creed.

Meantime, as you will readily suppose, there were not wanting those who anticipated a very different result. In some distant parts of the community, more than once report was distinctly made, that I had become *Unitarian*, *Rationalist*, and what not. The ground of this, so far as I could ever learn, was, that occasionally, in my publications and in my lectures, I expressed an opinion that some texts, hitherto relied on by many of the orthodox as proof-texts in respect to some distinguishing doctrines of evangelical religion, could not well be classed among that number, because the laws of exegesis would not bear us out in construing them in such a way. If this were a crime, I plead guilty; nay, I am still guilty, if innocence is not capable of being maintained in any way, but by always receiving and approving the *method* of argument and interpretation which characterized some distinguished theologians in days of yore.

You must be well aware, my Friend, what importance some men attach to what they call *the form of sound words*. Present them with an account of what you believe, and what you reject, and if it be not in the *words* of some Catechism, or of some favourite author, they will at once suspect you of deviation or defection. It is in vain to tell them that truth is the same, whether presented in this form or in that, provided it be fairly and honestly and intelligibly presented. *They* have seen truth only in *one* garb; nor do they once imagine that she has another suit, or a different costume, in her whole wardrobe. If the Westminster Catechism or the Saybrook Platform appeals, for example, to the books of Chronicles and Kings for proof-texts to establish Presbyterianism or Congregationalism, so must we; or else we do despite to the Catechisms. If they appeal, in order to establish the doctrine of the *eternal* generation of the Son of God, to Ps. ii, 7, "Thou art my Son, *this day* have I begotten thee," so must we. In short, it is as veritable heresy to call in question the old *mode* of establishing a doctrine, as it would be to call in question the doctrine itself.

Some may be naturally inclined to think that intelligent men must look beyond this, and see that one mind may be persuaded by one argument in a more convincing and satisfactory way, and another by an argument of a different tenor. In alchemy, many a truth was admitted along with much that has been exploded. But while chemists of the present day admit the same truth, they resort in many cases to very different arguments in order to support it. Is this heterodoxy? So in respect to divers texts of Scripture; the unexampled pursuit of *sacred* criticism, within the last forty years, has thrown much new and important light upon the idioms of the Bible. Is no reform or change in exegesis to be admitted in consequence of this? If it so happen, (and not unfrequently it does), that some text is brought in support of the common orthodoxy, which before lay concealed from the older writers, then indeed all is well. This is a legitimate and proper fruit of sacred study. But if some favourite text is taken away—this alters the case exceedingly. The only good rule, some seem to think, is, *to keep what you have got, and get what you can.* As a maxim for a miser, this is altogether in point; for a man who means to deal honestly and generously, it is a rule which needs much and important modification.

Hold fast the FORM of sound words! Ay; and there is more contained in this than every one who quotes it will be willing to acknowledge, in case his method of interpretation should be adopted. The *form* of words! That is the identical thing. Like the two parties whom Pascal presents in his admirable Provincial Letters, they make the *form* the principal thing. The Doctors of the Sorbonne, as Pascal tells us, had a high quarrel about *la Grace suffisante* (sufficient grace), and were ready to come to the last extremities. Finally, some lucky wight proposed that both parties should adopt the *expression* in their Creed, and then each be left at full liberty to define it in his own way. The bargain was struck, and the parties at once united. This I take to be a good sample of what is often signified by *holding fast the FORM of sound words.* Does he, inquires one, adopt the *words* of our Standard, i. e. of the Catechism? ‘No, not in all respects. He thinks that some of the doctrines may be better expressed in more definite, guarded, intelligible language.’ Then cut him off. Who made him a ruler and a judge over the Standards? We want no man among us, we will have none, who is wiser than the Catechism.

Again: Does he adopt the *form* of words in our Catechism? ‘He does.’ Then give him the right hand of fellowship, and unfurl the banner of brotherhood over him. ‘But he opposes

revivals of religion ; he preaches Antinomianism and Fatalism ; he admits Universalists to his communion, and makes them his almost daily companions and bosom friends.'—And what then ? No man is perfect. He holds fast the *form* of sound words ; and that is the passport to our communion and fellowship.

Am I dreaming, Friend, or is all this a picture of reality ? Would God the originals could not be found in any part of our country !

After all, what is this *form of sound words* ? I am aware that the implication is, that it contains the very words of Scripture. The scriptural idea it may indeed convey ; or it may not. I take the true *form of words*, however, to be either Hebrew, or Chaldee, or Greek ? I know of no other *original* Scriptures. Our Catechisms and Creeds, then, must be in Hebrew, or Chaldee, or Greek, in order to exhibit the specific thing in question, i. e., the *real form* of words. But what kind of *hold* many a man, zealous beyond all bounds of moderation for the "*ancient ways*," has upon Hebrew or Greek, I wot it would be rather a difficult task to tell.

'But what is all this,' you may ask, 'to the study of German, about which you set out to say something?' Little or nothing, I confess. But the association of ideas sometimes has a wonderful power over our minds, and leads them from the main path to wander awhile in many a by-way which branches off. So I ask your pardon, making ample confession of my wandering ; but still, to be frank with you, I am hardly come, as yet, to a state of repentance for what I have done. But let me return to the high-road again.

Time was, when, for years together, I was almost alone in the study of German, in our country. There were indeed, and always have been, native Germans in some places, who of course pursued reading of this kind. There was here and there a solitary individual, who had been prompted by accident, or moved by curiosity, or led by peculiar circumstances, to the study of German. There were some at Boston and Cambridge, who had begun to make some inquiries respecting it. But among all our Clergy, the deed was undone ; and even the bare attempt to do it was regarded as a matter of idle curiosity, or as a kind of excrescence or monstrosity in respect to the body of sound and healthy literature. Of course, I had no weight of example to plead in my favour, no experience to which I could appeal, as a proof that German study was not necessarily connected with heresy.

By-and-by some few of our students (without any exhortation however from me) took it into their heads to study German.

When they came to me, and asked me what *helps* they could procure to aid them, I told them what ones I judged to be best. Some two or three of them, I believe not more than these, before they had got their eyes half opened in respect to the study, began to waver about a few of the old opinions in regard to *criticism*; one or two, in regard to *doctrine*. Of course, the spirit of the times did not fail to convert this circumstance into strong proof against me. It was whispered, that I was not only secretly gone over to the Germans, but was leading the Seminary over with me, and bringing up, or at least encouraging, our young men to the study of deistical Rationalism; and, besides this, it was also whispered about, in a very significant way, that it was as much as the other Professors could do, to keep the Seminary from going over into Unitarianism.

What was to be done in such a plight as this? Solitary, unsupported, without sympathy, suspected, the whole country either inclined to take part against me, or else to look with pity on the supposed ill-judged direction of my studies. Admonished by my bosom friends with elongated visage, now with solemn tones, then with innuendos of strong suspicion, and sometimes with accents objurgatory and even indignant, and warned of my approaching ruin—what was to be done? I was a young man, a stranger in this community, with no rich or powerful family friends to support me, even in the State from which I came; I was naturally diffident, and distrustful of myself, whatever different opinion in relation to this some may have formed; I was very sensitive on the point of character, and had no thirst for the honours of martyrdom as a heretic; and in addition to all the rest, I could not conceal my opinions nor disguise my pursuits, for honesty and candour forbade it. The few students, who at this time had a smattering of German, were unable to form any phalanx enlisted in my favour; and if they had been able and willing to do it, and had offered to do it, I should have declined the offer. What was I then to do? If you, my Friend, grow restive under the innuendos which I doubt not are made concerning you from time to time, and feel as if, being conscious of your own integrity and orthodoxy, you could not and would not bear them, even in the present state of things—just look back and see the furnace seven times heated through which I have passed, and thank God that you are coming forward in your independent course, at a time when thousands of hearts will beat with sympathy and in unison with yours; and then you will pity, rather than tremble before, the authors of such innuendos, whose convictions and demeanor, in this respect, would seem to be grounded on the old maxim, that *ignorance*

is the mother of devotion. I know well, at least I have the charity to believe, that they are not conscious of acting on this principle; but I am equally well-persuaded, that a fair estimate of the principles which they do advocate, can make out nothing short of this as a legitimate deduction.

For me, you perceive how different was my condition. Solitary, and suspected, and reproached! Many a sleepless night have I passed, and many a dark and distressing day, when some new effusion of suspicion or reproof had been poured upon me. It was said, among other things, that none but the *Unitarians* of Boston studied German, and this of itself was evidence enough that it must be fraught with evil. Among the thousand *argumenta ad invidiam* brought to bear upon me, this was one which was quite rife, after some small beginnings had been made in the study of German, at Cambridge and Boston. But how could I be convinced by this? The Unitarians also studied trigonometry, and natural philosophy, and Latin, and Greek, (Hebrew little enough); and were all such studies to be therefore given up, because Unitarians pursued them? But of what use was it to argue? *Delenda est Carthago*—and if not by sapping, then by storm. Like the most conspicuous actors in the scenes of the *Auto da Fe*, I carried my own condemnation along with me; and this was the label that was tacked to me and hung out—**GERMAN STUDY.** All my culpabilities, viz. my desert of suspicion, fair exposure to distrust, heresy (to be born within a reasonable period, inasmuch as it had already been conceived), all, all were comprised in the wonderfully comprehensive matrix of *German Study*.

You will naturally inquire how I supported and demeaned myself under circumstances such as these; and as you have some special interest in knowing, I will give you a brief account of the matter.

Some of the suspicions and accusations were such, as rather to excite my risibles than to keep me from sleeping; the idea, for example, that the study of German, at that period (some twenty-five years ago), was doubtless of a bad tendency, because the Unitarians of Boston and Cambridge favoured it. I believe the late J. S. Buckminster, of Brattle Street Church, was the only man among the Literati of this region, who at that time had any other knowledge of German than what belongs to a mere tyro. Our late Governor, Mr. Everett, however, who was pursuing his theological studies when the library of Mr. Buckminster was sold, had begun the study of German, and he bought a number of German books at the sale, as well as myself. He was, and has ever been, one of those who “through desire

separate themselves, and seek to intermeddle with all knowledge." I remember, with lively and pleasant emotion, the contest between him and me at the sale for Eichhorn's *Introduction to the Old Testament*; then a book unknown to our literary community, but one borne on by the full tide of popularity in Germany, Eichhorn being at that time in the zenith of his glory. We bid upon the volumes (there were four) until we rose above six dollars apiece, (for a moderate octavo on coarse hemp-paper); and finally I won the prize by bidding six dollars and a quarter for each volume. I have since purchased all four for as many dollars. Yet the acquisition of that book has spread its influence over my whole subsequent life. Much as there is of the arbitrary and of the rationalistic in it; defective as it now is in comparison with some later productions; yet it broke the iron bands in which the old criticism was bound, and led the way to something which lay beyond the reach of Eichhorn's talents and acquisitions, but which God will yet bless greatly to the up-building and establishment of the influence of his Holy Word.

But to return: I was indeed but slightly affected with a charge of leaning, in this affair of German study, toward Unitarianism; for heaven knows, that the Unitarians of that day were, as a mass, as guiltless in respect to the sin of German study, as Jerome was in respect to imitating Cicero's Latinity, when the angel charged him with such a sin, and administered castigation therefor. And so it fared with many other accusations and innuendos about as well grounded as this. When any fresh attack was made, or any new edition of old matter was issued, bound and gilt after the fashion of the day, my feelings, always susceptible enough, were wounded, and my peace for a while disturbed. Yet a new experiment in reading such works as those of Storr, Flatt, Reinhard, Knapp, Seiler, and the like, not to mention Gerhard, Wolfius, Schoettgen, and many other of the older writers, always decided for me, that I must go on, come what might, until I should begin to perceive within myself some of the deleterious consequences which had so often been predicted.

Well do I remember the time, when Dr. Channing's famous attack upon the doctrine of the Trinity seemed to call for some answer on the part of the Orthodox. I was then in the midst of my fiery trials. After considering the matter a few days, I determined on making the experiment, whether my studies might not be turned to some good account in the cause of what I deemed to be truth. I hazarded the undertaking. The first edition of my pamphlet sold in a week; the second in a very short time; and a third large and cheap edition followed. Four or five editions have since been printed in England. What did

this speak? Was I mistaken, or my friends and anxious advisers? If I decided wrongly, may I be forgiven! But, apart from pride or selfishness, I was constrained to believe, that my friends were in the wrong and I in the right.

Soon after the success of this pamphlet, I was journeying a small distance with my late excellent colleague, the Rev. Dr. Porter. He was open, frank, carried his heart in his hand, and never said to any man one thing while his mind was meditating quite another. He always scorned to carry any measure by stratagem, and never undertook to throw dust in your eyes, in order that you might not see the *Blösse* which he had about him. Never would he meet you with a *Quid agis, dulcissime rerum?* and then chuckle at the thought, that you had credited his friendly professions, and laid yourself open to be entrapped by him, as occasion might demand. In a word he was one of those *animae quibus nec candidiores, nec cordatores*; and his memory I cherish with deep and lasting friendship of feeling. During our ride, he took occasion to express the satisfaction he had enjoyed in the success of my pamphlet, in terms which it would not be proper for me to repeat. I thanked him for his kind and generous feelings; and then added, looking him fully and tenderly in the face: "What if I had followed the advice of my friends, and abstained from all pursuit of German study? could I have written this pamphlet?" His eye glistened with tender feeling, and he frankly answered, at once, and without a moment's hesitation: "No, you could not; you are in the right in this matter, and your friends in the wrong; take your own way for the future."

That way I have pursued, from that hour to this; unmoved by the little whirlwinds that now and then come along, and raise up a dust for a while, and eddy about until they have expended themselves by their own whirling; and equally indisposed to retreat even before the tempests which murmur hoarsely at a distance, and threaten to lash the ocean until its waves shall meet the sky. I have lived and studied long enough to know where I can best find what I want, i. e. light and instruction; and there I am resolved to go in search of truth, until the day when my hands and feet are manacled, my eyes bandaged, and my tongue forbidden by physical force to do its office. That day, I am apt to think, will not now come; I hope that it will not even threaten to come, during the little time which I have yet to live. May you, my Brother, live long to enjoy the freedom, which it has cost more suffering to gain, than you will ever be fully aware of! There have been times, when it looked as if liberty in this matter was out of question for the present

generation of the Orthodox; yea, times when I have narrowly escaped even official inquiry into my pursuits. That day, I would hope, has gone by; and those who helped to urge it on, have mostly quitted the scene of action here. It seems to be now the more general conviction, that *facts* must be inquired after, before indictments can be made out, or at least before they can be sustained; certainly before the greater excommunication can be pronounced, there must at least be some development of speculations, or of something else, that is in reality heretical. There are men among our present Guardians, who, as I trust, would be found, if it should be necessary, fighting in the last ditch to guard the citadel of free inquiry and unshackled pursuit of truth. And if it were not so, my own mind has long been made up on this subject. It is not worth my while to go through with such severe and protracted discipline, on the score of free investigation, and then desert the cause when victory begins to perch upon its standard.

And now what is the *result* of a quarter of a century's reading of German authors? How much nearer am I to heresy, than when I began the race? I would put this question to my own conscience; and I know that my God will ask the question, how I have used my privileges. And what is the answer? Conscience says, I am farther off—much farther off—from heresy, than when I came to this Seminary. Then, as I trust and believe, I was sincere in my profession of orthodoxy, so far as I understood it; but this was only a little way. In many respects my belief was the result of confidence in the fathers, in the great and good men of the church, because I felt that I was a child, and I wished to be a *dutiful* child. Now I have examined more extensively; I have looked after truth among friends and foes; I have followed many of the master-spirits of heterodoxy and rationalism through the camps where their forces are concentrated. I believe the odds is fearfully against them. Their systems annihilate or cripple the mighty, soul-subduing, and redeeming efficacy of gospel truth; they do not meet the wants, the woes, the depravity, and the helplessness of man. They do not either make known or insist upon CHRIST CRUCIFIED, as the wisdom of God and the power of God; CHRIST CRUCIFIED, our justification and sanctification and redemption. Any scheme of religion, whose central point is not this, is alien from my feelings and against my established convictions. Let my studies be whatever they may have been in the estimation of some, the result is this. I do not mean that this is a *new* result, but that, while I have never doubted this truth from the beginning, and have carried it with me all along my path, I am at the last more fully confirmed in it than ever.

I do not, I dare not, predict what may be my future state of mind, should I live some years to come. While I think this last event improbable, I speak of my present state of mind in view of a retribution which is near at hand, and where all disguise would be as useless as wicked. It is possible that my convictions may change, and that I may abandon the system of doctrine which I have believed, and now believe to be true; for the human heart is capable of defection from God and his word. Greater and better men than I have sinned, after much light and love had been manifested to them; and I have, as I trust, no overweening confidence in my own steadfastness, and, as I know, nothing to boast of in this respect. I will not venture to say, as Peter did before his fall, that I will adhere to my present views even till death itself, lest I may be left to make defection, in order to show the world the guilt and folly of boasting in human strength, and of vain glory. But from the deepest recesses of my soul, I can now say: ‘God in mercy keep me, by thy Spirit, from falling—from denying the Lord that bought me, and from refusing to glory in the cross of Christ! A poor dying sinner has no other hope or refuge but this; and to forsake his last and only hope, when he is approaching the verge of eternity—would be dreadful indeed!’

When I review the tenor of your remarks, which have given rise to this letter, I am somewhat surprised to find, that at this time of day you are called to pass through some of the trials that I have so often experienced. But all is explained by adverting to the fact, that among the religious community to which you belong, the circulation of German literature is only as it were commencing. With us, the question has been longer agitated, and may perhaps be regarded as somewhat better settled.

But let me quit my own personal experience, the account of which will doubtless be ungrateful to some, and advance a few thoughts which have respect to reason and to the nature of the case before us.

Why should the whole storehouse of English, French, Latin, and Greek literature be thrown open to youth of all classes, and that of German be closed? Is there more in the latter to allure from the paths of virtue, and to render skeptical our minds, than in the former? Need I speak of Ovid, parts of Horace, some of the Eclogues of even the *chaste* Virgil, the odes of Anacreon, the mythology of Homer and Pindar, yea even of the Greek tragedians? And in all the languages of the earth is there more of *bardinage*, and which is of a corrupting and debasing tendency, than in the French? And as to the *King's English*—who are Morgan, and Tindal, and Bolingbroke, and Hobbes, and Chubb, and Hume, and Gibbon, and most of the older play-writers and

romancers, and Byron, and Moore, *et id genus omne?* Who does not know, that knows any thing about modern Rationalism in Germany, that it sprung from the study of the *English* deists and rationalists? The Christians of Germany have at least as much reason to complain of the English, as the latter of them. I cannot doubt, for a moment, that they have more. The greater freedom of England and America has produced more bold and open attacks upon the Scriptures, and upon evangelical religion, than would have been tolerated in Germany until quite recently. If a list of *prohibited* books is to be made out, where in the name of common sense, are we to begin, and where to end?

Besides; it does not agree with my feelings, nor with the confidence that I would repose in the truths of the gospel, to be continually trembling for the safety of our ark, when we profess to believe that it is guided and secured by a hand that is divine. There is too much of distrust in the great Head of the Church, implied by such a state of mind. We examine the claims of the Gospel to our credence; we profess an entire satisfaction in them; we proclaim that they are superior to all fair and reasonable exceptions and objections; and then we turn round, when the first assault is made, and exhort all to take refuge at once within the walled citadel that has been erected, and remain watchful at their posts there, lest, if they venture out, they may be killed or made prisoners. What must an ingenuous, high-souled youth, ardent in the pursuit of truth, and a thorough Protestant in his views of religious liberty, think of a constant series of cautions and remonstrances against the *danger* of examining the works of German rationalists? The very repetition of these cautions, with an anxious brow and an agitated look, will half persuade him that there must be something very formidable there—something which the monitor himself feels unable to cope with; and of course his curiosity is stimulated to examine for himself, until he may find out what it is. Is it not better at once to tell him what it is, and what reasons you have for giving no credit to it? Surely, if the teachers of the divine word are to *prove all things*, the errors of the times present are not to be left out in making such proof.

It is unaccountable to my mind, how some teachers of youth can think it to be a matter of interest, to lead candidates for the ministry to a minute and circumstantial knowledge of all the *ancient* heresies, while those that *now* threaten the church are to be left out of sight, or at most only declaimed against in a general way. Our youth are invited to rub off the dust from ancient stories of the Nazarenes, and Ebionites, and Gnostics, and Valentinians, and Alogi, and Carpocratians, and Novatians,

and some scores of other sects buried long since in an oblivion which might well be perpetual ; they are commended for an accurate and radical investigation of all these, and of all succeeding heretics, down to times posterior even to the Reformation ; but to investigate what the heretics are *now* saying or doing—*olet haeresim*. ‘ How can any one do so,’ they exclaim, ‘ unless there is a secret leaning in favor of them ? ’ And to prove this, an old and long-established maxim is brought to bear upon the subject, namely, that *a man is known by the company he keeps*.

Yet what are we to do ? I know not how it may be with the creed of your Seminary, but mine bids me, and demands a promise of obedience, to maintain *orthodoxy* “ in opposition, not only to Atheists and infidels, but to Jews, Mahometans, Arians, Pelagians, Antinomians, Arminians, Socinians, Unitarians and Universalists, and to all other heresies and errors, ancient or modern.” Somewhat of a task this, if a man is to do it all, and yet teach sacred literature besides ! But apart from this ; how is this *anti-heretical* labour to be performed ? By reading the books of the heretics ; or by rushing upon their camp, ignorant of their position, their strength, their arms, their skill in using them, and (in a word) of every thing which pertains to them ? A military man would not long deliberate what answer to give in such a case. How can we ? And as the constitution of our Seminary demands of me to oppose *modern* heresies, so it demands of me, *par consequence*, to become acquainted with them before I undertake to oppose them. In what way am I to do this ? By reading the writers themselves, or by resorting to the account which some of their antagonists have given of them ?

‘ Be it so then,’ it has been said to me, more than once, ‘ that you must expose yourself to this danger ; what need that your pupils should do it ? ’ My answer has always been : Shall *Protestant* youth be obliged to rest in the representations of their teacher, as to the sentiments which able and learned men of different views have taught ? Not all professed teachers are competent to make the inquiries necessary to such a task ; they do not all know languages enough for this ; they are not all studious enough to do it ; not all of them are candid and ingenuous ; and even if all these difficulties were removed, not every one of them has acuteness and discrimination enough fully to appreciate the system of such a man as Schleiermacher, or even Eichhorn. Shall the student be precluded from making search for himself ? If so, why should he be obliged to know any thing respecting these matters ?

I well know these questions cannot be answered in any other way, than to admit of unshackled inquiry. I do not say there is

no danger in it, for I think there is; but I say that there is more in the contrary course. I have known careful and pious mothers seclude their children from all intercourse with the world, lest they should be corrupted. In this state have they kept them, as long as they could. When the time came in which they must and would go forth, in nearly all the instances I have known, they have fallen before temptation. Novices in experience, they were most easily beguiled. Too late have such parents found, that they were contending against the order that Providence has established. The world is full of temptations; and to avoid them all, is out of the question. *Guarded exposure*, then, is the true policy, *guarded exposure even from early life*.

So would I say, also, in respect to young candidates for the ministry. Are we to send them out into the world, mere green novices, and altogether unacquainted with the arts and the arguments of heretics? Then may they fall an easy prey to the first crafty and learned antagonist who meets them. If we have shut up from them all heretical books, we have indeed kept them for a while from some temptations; but we have been exercising towards them a policy which is exactly like that of tender parents, who knowing that their son must at a particular age go to sea with the command of a ship, have still kept him at home *ad interim*, in order to save him from exposure to drowning.

Such a course is unwise; it is preposterous. It is opposed, moreover, to the first principles of Protestantism and religious liberty. A faith that has not been put to trial, is a faith that never can be depended on when danger draws nigh. *Guarded exposure* is as appropriate to young candidates for the ministry, as it is for children. Exposure is the order of Providence; and do what we may, we cannot avoid it.

I repeat it, it is a dishonour done to the evidence and excellence of divine truth, to tremble at the shaking of every leaf, lest the wind should prostrate our temple. The august majesty of the gospel is tarnished, when it is treated as if it were such a weakling.

Besides all this; the Germans have actually written and published much, and whether *we* read or not, there are those who will read at all events. They will proclaim, too, that we dare not meddle with the Anakim, and that we craftily conceal our own weakness by prudently retiring from all contest. What effect now must all this produce on the minds of the young and inexperienced? They will naturally point at us the finger of scorn. They will believe, that we ourselves are conscious of our own weakness, and that *necessity*, rather than prudence, induces us to avoid the field of open contention. Our influence over minds in

this state, will be at an end. We may bid adieu to the hopes of moulding them.

But let me further ask : On what ground do religious instructors justify putting such a book as Leland's View of the Deistical Writers into the hands of their pupils ? Will they tell me, that the *bane* and *antidote* are here in close association ; so that when a wound is inflicted, the cure may speedily follow ? But why expose to the *wound* ? If they have any good answer to this, then we have the same answer to make respecting German wounds. Or are these more deep and dangerous than all others ?

Are there not, in German, as many and as able defences of revelation, as in English ? Are not antidotes there of equal efficacy with those found elsewhere ? Let those say who have read the *apologetic* productions of Germany, and we need not fear the result. To those who have never read them, we cannot with propriety make an appeal.

I have often wondered, while thinking on the subject before us, how it can be, that those who declaim most against the study of the German, are usually the persons who have little or no acquaintance with it. Pass through our country from Maine to Louisiana, from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, and find, if you can, an individual conversant with German literature, who declaims against the study of it. At least I know not of a single example of this nature. I am well aware, indeed, that among almost all who have a good acquaintance with it, there is a deep conviction, that there are many books in German, which inculcate principles of theology and of criticism that are of a deleterious nature and deeply tinged with skepticism. It is impossible to resist such a conviction as this, unless a man sets out with a determination not to notice it. But the same individuals know, also, that while Germany has her Rationalists, so has England and America ; and if the German ones are the more dangerous, it is merely because they are the more learned and able. But Germany has her expositors, her preachers, and her theologians, also, who are *evangelical* ; and this number has of late been greatly increased, and is increasing ; and at least the first and last of these three classes are beyond a doubt superior in point of learning, discrimination, and scientifical views, to the English and American writers in the same departments. The *practical* common sense, however, and sound judgment of the English and Americans, make them decidedly better preachers and practical religious writers.

Cuique suum. God has made nations to differ, as well as individuals ; and this for the accomplishment of important ends. In a great temple, (such surely is the one that He is erecting),

all is not foundation, nor wall, nor cornice, nor cupola ; it is the harmony of *different* parts—the *tout ensemble* joined in one—which constitute the steadfastness, the majesty, the beauty, the convenience, of the edifice. So, in the temple which the great Head of the Church is rearing, one nation constitutes one part, another constitutes a different one. The German mind, speculative, imaginative, inquisitive, ardent, patient, persevering, discriminating, attached beyond example to order and scientific method, is adapted to the performance of a part in the great drama of Christianity, for which the English and American mind is not so well fitted. *Non omnes omnia possumus.* Why then should they not act their own proper part ? They say of us, that we have the *Andachtsvermögen*, but not the *Anschauungsvermögen*, i. e. if I may so explain it, the faculty of converting the principles of religion to pious uses, but not the faculty of an intuitive perception of its truths. *How far* this is true, might be well questioned ; but at all events, that the Germans are most given to speculation and nice discriminations, is undoubtedly true. Why not let them rear this part of the great building, keeping our eye on the work, and guarding against any extravagances or false and useless ornaments, and (if we may say so) excrescences ? Madame de Staél has said, that *the Germans live in the air.* Let it be so ; yet the air is a part of the great system of Him, who made heaven and earth and all that therein is, and the dwellers in it are creatures that belong to God's kingdom as well as we.

But apart from considerations of this kind, let me say another thing, which no thoroughly informed scholar will contradict. In all works of philology, in the knowledge of languages ancient and modern, of antiquities, of criticism sacred and profane, of hermeneutics, of ecclesiastical history, of lexicography, of grammar, and of the kindred sciences, the world has no equal—not even any rival—to Germany. To whom are all the *ultimate* appeals made in these sciences, but to the Germans ? Whose lexicons, grammars, and commentaries are displacing all others in England and America ? There can be but one answer to this question.

What now has induced the literary public to walk in such a path ? Is this partiality for German productions purchased favour, courted favour, solicited favour ? Not at all. The Germans have hitherto shewed very little concern about their reputation in foreign countries. They have a world of their own. What then brought their productions into notice ? Nothing but the *value* of them ; no other earthly reason can be given. And if this has forced the way for them among us, how shall we thrust

them back, unless we ourselves produce something of a still higher value? It cannot be done. There are those in our community who will think and act for themselves in relation to this matter. We could not prevent this, if we would.

Have the English or Americans any grammars like those of Buttmann, Matthiae, Winer, and Kühner in Greek; or like Gesenius and Ewald in Hebrew? Have they any lexicons like those of Gesenius and Passow? Have they classical and sacred commentators, critics, and antiquarians, to be compared with the Germans? And if we go into other departments—have they theologians like Quenstedt, and Hollaz, and Gerhard, and Reinhard? Have they ecclesiastical historians like Mosheim, and Neander, and Schroeckh? Or ecclesiastical antiquarians like Stark, and Augusti, and Jahn, and Muenscher? If they have, it has at least escaped my notice.

Turn we, for a moment, to another view of this great subject. Where did the *Reformation* begin? Who fought its first great battles? Is the Spirit of God then confined, in his influences, to England and America? I trust this will not be said. If not, have we no concern to inquire how he has operated on the minds of other nations, as well as on our own? Is there nothing to be learned from their experience? Can religion put on no costume except such as is worn by us? Has the mind no channels in which it may move, except those in which we are wont to direct it? If now no one can truly answer these questions in the negative, why should we close up access to a wider, a more extensive, knowledge of religious convictions and experience? If we could even regard the Germans as enemies to our views of things, we might still venture to say: *Fas est ab hoste doceri.* But when we see many a noble and enlightened mind enlisted under the same banner with ourselves—we must not, we cannot, refuse to learn something from its experience, its struggles, and its convictions.

But why should I proceed, in detailing more reasons for such a course of study at the present time? It is, I am disposed to believe, become nearly superfluous to do so. The question, as I apprehend, is already decided, at least in our country. Not a theological Seminary among us, but it has some professors who have formed, or are forming, an acquaintance with the German. Not a liberal or literary profession, which has not members of the like character. Not a college, nor scarcely an academy of eminence, but it has within its walls some of the like character. What can be the meaning of all this, if nothing that is of solid worth is to be found in the walks of German literature? In fact, it has come, or is coming, to this, that a knowledge of the

German is no longer an evidence of peculiar and distinguishing acquisition. What Cicero said of a knowledge of Greek in his day, we may now say of the German: ‘It is not so much a matter of praise to be acquainted with it, as of shame to be ignorant of it.’

By all this, however, I do not mean to say, that the English and American mind is, in my estimation, inferior to the German. I think very differently; and I do fully believe, that, on the whole, in the greater qualities of mind, sound judgment, sober discretion, and fine taste, the former is decidedly superior. What would such a man as Lowth not have done, had he possessed the *knowledge* of a Gesenius, a Winer, a Jahn, and a Neander? It is difficult to say where his progress would have stopped.

Let us look, for a moment, at Germany with her forty Universities, and her literary corps some 150,000 strong—debarred from politics, and confined within their own *scientific* limits, enthusiastic in their pursuits, abounding in means, and earning their bread only by attaining to some good degree of superiority. Are there no elements of attaining to literary eminence there, which neither England nor America affords in such a measure? One needs to open his eyes but half-way, in order to see the true position of this matter. In Germany, the student who does not distinguish himself, is likely to go to the poor-house. Among us, tyros find abundant employment; and a mere modicum of literature, joined with some newspaper developments, makes many a man quite famous.

I love my country, and think her condition incomparably preferable to that of Germany, taken as a whole. But nothing short of the most preposterous vanity can lead us, at present, to claim equal eminence in literature with Germany.

If this be a correct statement of the case, my Friend, why should we be daunted with the contumely which is cast upon German studies? Who is it, I ask once more, that usually utters reproaches of this nature, and is every now and then throwing out hints and significant innuendos, about the corrupting and debasing tendency of these studies? I have, for some years, been in the habit of asking this question, whenever I see a paragraph in a periodical of the day, which exhibits such a spirit and feeling as that to which I now allude. My answer has always been, and still is, that it is those, and only those, who have *no personal acquaintance* with this subject, that speak and write in such a way. They are opposed, we will say, to *Neology*. But in expressing their dislike, they aim their blows at all German writers without distinction. This is just as reasonable as it

would be for Tholuck or Hahn, because they dislike Hume and Gibbon and Collins and Tindall, and others of like character, to speak against the whole English world, and even against a knowledge of the English language.

But how is it that these gentlemen, so ardent in their zeal against German, feel themselves competent to decide upon this question, without knowing even the rudiments of the German language? Where is modesty, decorum, propriety? Nay, I think that duty requires me to speak more plainly still; for I find in many a paragraph that I have read, a spirit which seems to betray something different from tender regard for Orthodoxy. There are those who have not studied German, that stand related in their temper and feelings to a very ancient man, by name Diotrephe. In literature they are conscious of being unable to attain to any distinction. So then to attain their end, others, who seem likely to obtain some distinction, must be pulled down. In this way all may come, perhaps, at last to a level. This is one way of living and acting.

Another, a little different, is the result of a *dimicative* phrenological conformity—of mind, if not of cranium. They are never easy unless in some shape or other engaged in contest. When one battle is ended, it takes but a little time to scar over the wounds, and to brush up the armour for another. Their profession, we will say, excludes them from *the challenge of honour*, or from the cudgel; but theological gladiators they may be, even with the glory of “contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.” A feeling, which in another walk of life would eventuate in a duel or a round of assault and battery, may be emptied out upon a theological opponent without scruple, and with perhaps the chance of yet being put into the calendar of saints that have been defenders of the faith. Their importance, they expect, will be measured not by their own attainments, but by the standing and character of those whom they have the boldness to assail. Herostratus is the prototype.

When one adds to all this, a large spice of thorough *Conservatism*, it becomes a compound which is scarcely nameable by our mother tongue. “Ask for the old paths,” is inscribed on the banner which they rear; and this is the exclusive and only motto to which they direct their eye. Whether these *old paths* are the ones meant by the prophet, or those merely which their great grandfathers followed—makes no part of the question. It is enough for them that they are *old*; the hoary head is of course a crown of glory.

But is there no other text in the Bible than the motto-text? An old preacher—yea, somewhat older than the pilgrim fathers,

and the Saybrook or Cambridge platforms, or even Westminister Catechism, once entertained a somewhat different view of this subject. That preacher, rather famous in his day, has said: "Say not, What is the cause that the former days were better than these? *For thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this.*" But perhaps he may be thought to be mistaken, and so his words be regarded as "vanity." If not—yet they may at least occasion some "vexation of spirit."

Conservatism of this kind, then, is not a new thing under the sun. Coheleth found it in his day; and a shrewd old heathen, a masterly observer too of human nature, found it in his. See how exactly he has drawn the portrait to our hands:

Difficilis, querulus, laudator temporis acti
Se puer, censor, castigatorque minorum.

So Horace, *Ars Poet.*, vs. 173. *Do manus.* I yield the tablet to him. I cannot add a touch to his picture.

The degeneracy of the times has become the standing theme, in some quarters; and sermons and newspapers tell us how rapidly the whole fabric of Christianity is smouldering away and nodding to its fall. Why? Because German is studied; and because many do not think, nor preach, nor pray, nor act, exactly after the model of their censors. We tax the foolish king with vanity, who said: *I am France*; what then is that which leads some men to think and feel that *they are the church*, and that all which does not conform exactly to their own model, must be heresy or error?

The motives and temper which lead to declamations of this nature, generally lie upon the face of the effusions. I take no pleasure in thinking of them, none in describing them, none in exposing them to public view; and therefore I have not another word to say concerning them. Ours is a land of liberty. They may go their own way; *Deo volente*, we will go ours.

After all that has been said, however, I can easily suppose, that a sober and conscientious man may reasonably ask the question: Do you intend that all our youth, who receive a liberal education, should be taught the *German*? Are even all young theologians to learn it?

It is a fair question, and deserves a respectful answer.

I say then, at once, that I mean no such thing. It would be time and effort and money thrown away, upon a large portion of our youth, even our studious youth, to lead them to an acquaintance with the *German*. The simple and conclusive reason is, that they would and could never avail

themselves of it to any good purpose. We study Greek and Roman writers specially with a view to cultivate our *style*. The German cannot be recommended for this. Much as I prize the science and accuracy and discrimination of many German writers, the *style* is foreign to our habits of thought and speaking. It is matter of astonishment to me, that all their enthusiasm for the classics has never produced any sensible influence on the style of but here and there a solitary individual in Germany. The eternal interlocutory sentences, the limitations, the adjuncts, the involution, and other like things, have even come to be German *beauties*. I could not name a writer of recent times in Germany whose manner it would be safe closely to follow in English. Indeed it is impossible.

There is not, then, the *same* reason for studying German as for studying Latin and Greek. We study *German* in order to be *instructed*. I speak not now of their poetry and romance, (neither of which my English blood will ever permit me to admire), but of their solid and scientific works. But let the man who seeks *instruction* make himself acquainted with the German language, and thus possess the key to unlock all their resources. If he does not find himself richly repaid, then I am content to be put down for an *ignoramus*.

High attainments in any branch of philology, at the present time, without any knowledge of German, seem to me to be fairly out of question. A man may study diligently for and by himself, and make highly laudable progress. He may become even distinguished among those who have but little distinction. But the most he can hope for is, that he should end his life with merely attaining to that which he might have taken possession of in the beginning of his career, if he had but availed himself of what others had done before him. Why should he not take such a position as to begin his career, with the advantage of possessing all that others had acquired before him, and which they now proffer for his aid?

But to end this long epistle; my view of German study is, that all scholars among us, engaged in the higher walks of science, ought to cultivate it, and cannot well attain distinction at the present day without it. I would not enjoin it as a necessary part of what is called a *liberal education*; but I would make provision for acquiring it in all cases where young men aspire to a knowledge of it. I would not abridge their so-called *classical studies* for this purpose, but I would let all *volunteers* enlist in this service who choose to do so. Of them there will soon be, unless the signs of the times have entirely eluded my

notice, a large corps, well disciplined, on the alert, and ready for defence on whatever side they may be attacked. I hope and pray, that, for the peace of the church and the prosperity of religion, *attacking* will ere-long cease to be the order of the day. If not—let those look well to it, who never rest easy except they are contending, or at least are laying out all their strength and ingenuity, to show that the fashion of an old garment is better than the fashion of a new one.

If *Neology* reaches this country, and spreads wide here, the church is undone. Let the champions of truth, then, make known the evil which is to be feared, and guard against it before its *secret* leaven has pervaded the whole mass. Forewarned, forearmed. I have no fears for really pious youth from the study of German, in case instructors do their duty. Let them, from time to time, as opportunity offers, expose the false reasoning and the extravagance of some of the German critics and theologians. Is it truly so, can it be, that our young men are in danger of having their heads turned and their hearts perverted, when they read in Dr. Ammon, that Christ waded in the water as long he could, and then swam, when Peter thought he saw him *walking* upon it? Are we to consider these youth as about to be lost to the cause of truth, in case they read in Paulus, that Lazarus was awaked from a swoon, and Christ from a syncope? Such fears are little short of ridiculous.

It has been sometimes said, that those who know nothing fear nothing. There is doubtless a sense in which this is true. But often have I been obliged to feel, that the maxim might more justly be reversed; or at least put into this shape: Those who know little, fear a great deal. So it is. Unknown and untried dangers always seem great to many minds. It is in vain for those who have encountered them, to testify against extravagant alarm. *Procul! O procul!* is the echo which from some quarters comes continually back. I have heard it until my soul is sick, and my ear greatly wearied. It is a dishonour to the majesty of truth and to the power of Christian evidence; to the good sense and piety of our young candidates for the ministry; and to the noble cause of Protestant freedom.

Thine, in fraternal bonds,

M. STUART.

ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY NOTICES.

DISCOURSES ON THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT HARRISON—CONTINUED.

- (1.) *A Discourse delivered at the Furman Theological Institution, May 14, 1841, the day appointed by the President of the United States as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, in consequence of the death of Gen. William Henry Harrison.* By J. L. REYNOLDS, senior Professor in the Institution. Published by request of the Students. Winnsborough, S. C. 1841.
- (2.) *Death in our Palaces. A Discourse on the death of William Henry Harrison, President of the United States, delivered on Fast Day, April 22, 1841.* By JAMES T. CHAMPLIN, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Portland. Portland: Printed by Charles Day & Co. 1841.
- (3.) *Address delivered on the day of the National Fast, May 14, 1841, at a united meeting of the religious societies in Andover.* By B. B. EDWARDS, Prof. in the Theological Seminary, Andover. Andover: Published by William Peirce. 1841.
- (4.) *An Address, in commemoration of the death of William Henry Harrison, President of the United States. Delivered before the City Council and Citizens of Providence, on the National Fast, May 14, 1841.* By WILLIAM G. GODDARD. Providence: Knowles & Vose. 1841.

In our last number we noticed a few of the many discourses that had been given to the public on the death of the late President. More have since been published, well deserving to be noticed. The great mass, no doubt, of these discourses as of other publications, will live their brief day, and silently pass into the multitude of things that were. This we say without sneering at them; for they may accomplish much good. If a man does nothing but what will live for ever, he will go to his grave the victim of idleness. While we would not cherish the foolish ambition of coveting to be an author, we would notwithstanding encourage modest worth.

It is an interesting fact, that, in the discourses on the President's death, every writer does homage to the supremacy of true goodness of heart. It is the President's integrity—his preference of the country's interests to his own—his benevolence and piety,—it is these to which prominence is given. And the universal interest which has been manifested in gathering up evidence of the President's piety, we take as indicative of a correct public sentiment, notwithstanding the angry collisions of party. The course of events preceding his election was indeed appalling to a pious heart: may we not say, to a considerate mind? There would seem to be a justification of the feeling which has so extensively arisen, that God has chastised the nation as unworthy of so good a man at the helm of public affairs. The custom was becoming so prevalent of coarsely vilifying the rulers of the land, that a rebuke was seasonable. And what more striking rebuke, than the speedy death of him who had united in his person the suffrages of so large a majority

of his fellow-citizens, and who had entered on his office with so many demonstrations of triumph on the part of his political supporters? In making these remarks, we abjure all political partialities. We are not politicians. We speak as moral and Christian observers. And we trust that our people, without verging to the extreme of servility, will yet learn to obey the spirit of the divine requisition, "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." We are glad that Prof. Edwards, in his address, touched on this point. Vilifying the name of the living has been indulged, he says, "to a mournful extent in relation to our civil rulers. We do not now refer to any particular individual or party. It is a *national* sin. It is the original sin, we had almost said, of every party. The utmost ingenuity is called into requisition in the invention of abusive epithets, in distorting the plainest facts, in tearing open character, and then pouring into the wounds the venom of asps. He is apt to be regarded as the ablest editor of a newspaper, who can use the most stinging phrases, who has at his command the largest vocabulary of excoriating epithets. It is not unfrequently mentioned in praise of some zealous orator that he flayed alive his poor opponent. Withering sarcasm has come into the place of calm reasoning; the traducing of motives into that of respectful remonstrance, or of gentlemanly refutation. One would think that many among us had passed their lives in studying the plays of Aristophanes, or the writings of John Wilkes or William Cobbett." "Ought we not to practise a little magnanimity? Ought we not to judge our public men with comprehensive and Christian charity? It may be the trade of a partizan to show how adroit he can be in the use of opprobrious terms. Be it ours, so far as we can, to correct this crying national offence, to rise superior to the miserable arts of the demagogue, and to demonstrate in our own case the ennobling influence of our free institutions, whose foundation rests upon a fraternal and affectionate equality. In no other way, can we obey the authoritative injunctions of the Bible; for how can we offer intercessions for 'all in authority,' when in the next breath, we cast out their names as evil, and denounce their knavery or incompetency?"

We may be allowed to express another thought, suggested by the discourses which have passed under our notice. There are, we trust, in our land many good men and good patriots, not known universally, but ready to meet the country's call in any exigency. When Gen. Harrison was nominated as a candidate for the Presidency, how little was he known in large districts of this wide-spread republic! Who is Gen. Harrison? was a frequent question. What more has he done than to kill a few Indians? But how great a benefactor does it now appear he was to this country! And to what worthier person could the highest gift in the people's power be extended, so far as it is to be viewed in the light of a grateful offering? Every new view which has been presented of his character and services, has but deepened the public sense of his worth. But he was not the only one in the land whose name deserves to be remembered, and who would be found able and ready to render efficient service in trying times. Nor are such men confined to one party or to one section of the republic.

But we must not forget that we are writing a notice. The sermon by Prof. Reynolds consists of contemplations on the death of the President. It has many indications of genius and learning, which

promise well for the future. There are, however, a few instances of inaccurate expression.

Mr. Champlin's sermon presents a rapid sketch of the life and character of the President, with appropriate reflections. There are some passages of much merit. It is written in an easy, flowing style, with an occasional disregard of careful and well wrought speech. We like to have a lump of ore; but ore needs to be smelted.

The other discourses, named at the head of this notice, have not the form of sermons. They are called addresses. Their authors have long been favorably known to the public; and these productions well sustain their reputation. Prof. Edwards's address commences with several touching illustrations, in reference specially to rulers, of Wordsworth's beautiful sentiment:

The good die first,
And they whose hearts are dry as summer dust,
Burn to the socket.

It then passes to an interesting delineation of the President's character, as exhibited in his Inaugural Address, and to the practical lessons enforced by his death. The discourse is valuable for its sober and judicious and original views, lucidly and earnestly expressed. A vein of honesty runs through it, which we do not always meet with in discourses pertaining to public men. The author's extensive and accurate learning gives him great facility in sustaining and illustrating his positions. We commend the whole address to our readers, as eminently worthy of being "read, marked and inwardly digested."

Prof. Goddard's address is in his usual style of chaste and classical composition. After an attractive introduction, he briefly traces the career of Harrison from his birth and his being committed to the care of Robert Morris, the great financier, and his academic residence at Hampden Sidney, to his entrance upon public life as an ensign commissioned by Washington, to his promotion as lieutenant and aid-de-camp to Gen. Wayne, and to his successive appointments as Secretary and Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Territory, Delegate of the North Western Territory in Congress, Governor of Indiana, Commander-in-chief of the North Western Army, Representative, and subsequently Senator, in Congress from Ohio, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Colombia, President of the United States. The narrative, necessarily brief and comprehensive, is full of thrilling interest. The reader becomes enchain'd. And when we arrive at the period of the election to the Presidency, the author appropriately pauses a moment in the narrative, that we may contemplate the venerable patriot on his way to the chair of state. "His journey from Ohio to Washington will not soon be forgotten. Without the pomp of a triumph, it had more than the honors of a triumph. At the wayside and at the place of concourse—in city or in hamlet—on mountain or in valley, the people, without distinction of age, sex, color, or condition, pressed upon him, with their hearts in their hands, to bid him welcome. Arrived at the seat of government, like a true son of Virginia, he yearned to revisit, once more, his native land. Thoughts of other years, of ties now broken, but well remembered still, came thronging around him; and, before he entered upon the duties of office, he yielded to his affectionate instincts, and went to see Virginia. He

went to look, once more, at the old family mansion, to survey its ancestral halls, to sit, again, under the shade of those patrimonial trees, beneath which he had frolicked in boyhood—to live over again, in memory, the days when his father was alive, and his children were about him—and, yet more, to fill his spirit with most gracious influences, by recollections of that mother who was wont to pray for him, and who taught him how to pray! In that mother's chamber, where he was born, and where he had often kneeled beside her, while she earnestly implored the rich blessings of Heaven on his future life, he penned that remarkable passage in his inaugural address, in which he expresses his profound reverence for the Christian religion. How beautiful the picture here presented to our view! The child of many prayers has become a gray-haired statesman, and is about to be clothed with the selectest honor which a nation can confer. With thoughts saddened by anticipations of the cares and responsibilities of office, he turns to the image of his sainted mother, and on that spot from which her voice of supplication had gone up to the mercy seat for him, he bears his testimony to the value of that religion which was her hope in death, and which, it is not too much to say, was his!"

"Next comes the Inauguration." But "in one month, one little month, ah! what a change! Hushed all at once are the jubilant echoes, and fled the joyous smiles. The wail of anguish is heard from the bed of sickness, doomed, too soon, to become the bed of death. Throughout our land, intense was the anxiety which his danger awakened, and genuine the sorrow felt by the men of all parties, when it was known that he had ceased to live. Well might we all grieve for one, who had ever been true to us—for one whose thoughts were upon us and his country, even when the dews of death gathered upon his forehead. These scenes of touching pathos which I have sketched, but have not aimed to paint, are well nigh over. What solemn beauty, what almost incom-
municable sadness in that last pageant, with which the nation sought
to assuage its own sorrow, and to honor the illustrious dead! What a
change had come over that dwelling, in one short month! There he
lay, in that dread repose which no man may break, and upon the very
spot which had hardly parted with the echoes of congratulation and
of triumph. No voice now was heard, but the voice of him who, in the
name of his Lord, spoke of the Resurrection and the Life. 'The awful
fathers of the state' were there—the titled representatives of kings
were there—political chieftains, once his foemen, were there—warriors,
young and old, were there, to look, for the last time, upon a warrior's
face! Slowly and solemnly, they bore him to his grave—through those
same paths which he so lately trod, full of health, and hope, and joy.
Not a sound is heard, but the knell of death—the muffled drum, the
hearse-like airs which float upon the breeze, like airs from another
world. With reverent hands, they commit his body to the ground,
earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust! And is this all of William
Henry Harrison! No! Faith triumphs over the grave. They look for
the general resurrection in the last day, when this corruption shall put
on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality!"

In the contemplative and subdued state of mind which every reader must have at this point of the address, the chief features of the President's character are presented to view. He "belonged to the order of efficient and well-balanced minds." "As a statesman, he stood upon

well-defined principles, and adhered to them with unswerving honor." "As a military man, he was remarkable for the excellent discipline which, without the exercise of severity, he was able to maintain." "His chastened and humble piety is among the most precious recollections of those who now mourn and honor him. . . . He felt himself to be a sinner in the sight of God, and he prostrated himself, in devout humility, before the Saviour of sinners."

After an eloquent tribute to Christianity, and a distinct avowal of its necessity to the strength, the happiness and the safety of this country, Prof. Goddard closes with the following timely appeal: "In elections to office, let us turn away from the demagogues who meanly seek our confidence, to the men who best deserve it; to the men who are too honest to flatter us, and too patriotic not to prefer our interests to our favor. Above all, let us remember that, unless the spirit of the people be right, legal codes are nothing—protective charters are nothing—constitutions, whether written or unwritten, are nothing—and that our popular institutions cannot be upheld, without impressing on the popular mind a conviction of the indissoluble union between RELIGION, LIBERTY, and LAW."

R.

QUARTERLY LIST.

DEATHS.

JEREMIAH CHAPLIN, D. D., Hamilton, N. Y.
ZENAS L. LEONARD, Sturbridge, Mass.,
 June 23, aged 63.
WILLIAM SMITH, Chelsea, July 26, aged 30.
J. G. WIGHTMAN, Groton, Conn., July 13.

ORDINATIONS.

L. C. BATES, Fulton, Schoharie Co., N. Y.,
 June 16.
SHADRACH S. BRADFORD, Pawtucket, R. I.,
 June 8.
HENRY BROWN, Cicero, Onondaga, N. Y.,
 June 17.
JOHN C. BYWATER, Burns, Alleghany Co.,
 N. Y., June 18.
ADAMS CLEGHORN, Lewiston, Niagara Co.,
 N. Y., April 14.
W. COOLIDGE RICHARDS, Grafton, Mass.,
 June 16.
SIDNEY A. CORRY, Mount Pleasant, Sing
 Sing, N. Y., July 21.
ELBRIDGE COX, Parsonsfield, Me., June 9.
DANIEL FARNHAM, Whitefield, Me., June 8.
LEVI B. HATHAWAY, Farmington, Me.,
 June 30.
HENRY C. HAZEN, Mount Salem, Sussex
 Co., N. J., July 7.
GEORGE HEARD, Shapleigh, Me., June 9.
LEWIS HOLMES, Edgartown, Martha's Vine-
 yard, June 10.
SHADRACH JAMES, Pottsville, Pa., July 5.
ABEL JOHNSON, Taylorsville, Ohio, June 19.
J. C. JOHNSON, Springville, Lawrence Co.,
 Ind., May 8.
WILLIAM LEACH, Paterson, N. J., May 19.
 — **LYON**, Owasco, N. Y., June 3.
J. W. P. McCALL, Lowndes Co., Florida,
 June 20.
SAMUEL MORSE, Oakland Co., Mich., March
 18.
HENRY G. MOSHIER, Providence, Saratoga
 Co., N. Y., Feb. 11.

MOSES PICKETT, Gainesville, N. Y., June 8.
FRANCIS PRESCOTT, Clarkesville, Otsego
 Co., N. Y., May 12.
ORNIN G. ROBBINS, Copenhagen, Lewis
 Co., N. Y., July 14.
J. B. SACKETT, Ashtabula, Ohio, April 21.
JAMES O. SCREVEN, Taylor's Creek, Liber-
 ty Co., Geo., May 30.
LEVI SMITH, Passumpsic, Vt., June 25.
BAYHELD W. WHILDEN, Pleasant Hill,
 Laurens Dist., S. C., May 29.
L. WILDER, Chester, Geauga Co., Ohio
 June 24.
CHARLES M. WILLARD, Walpole, N. H.
 June 9.
JOHN WIRELL, New York city, May 12.

CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

Reading, Pa., May 2.
 Huntington, Huntington Co., Ia., May 15.
 Morgan's Landing, Clearfield Co., Pa., Ap. 1.
 Damariscotta, Mill's Village, Me., May 6.
 Scottsville, Ky., May 4.
 Shady Grove, Simpson Co., Ky.
 Salvisa, Mercer Co., Ky., June 7.
 Half Moon, Saratoga Co., N. Y., June 2.
 Henry Co., Ind., May 27.
 Dover, Beaureau Co., Ill., April 28.
 Covington, Alleghany Co., Va.
 Lowndes Co., Florida, June 20.
 Newburgh, Cass Co., Mich., June 28.
 Pickens Court House, S. C., June 19.
 Pittsford, Rutland Co., Vt., July.
 Lindley, Steuben Co., N. Y.
 Burlington, Racine Co., Wisconsin Ter.,
 May 26.
 Concord M. H., Caroline Co., Va., July 10.
 Scottsville, Va., June 12.

DEDICATIONS.

Pittsford, Vt., July 15.
 Newburgh, N. J., July 20.